Saudade, Duende, and Feedback: The Hybrid Voices of Twenty-First-Century Neoflamenco and Neofado

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Michael Davis Arnold

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my *corazón*, Laura Severson, and in loving memory of my sister, Jessica Marie Arnold.

Abstract

The focus of this comparative, pan-Iberian study is on the negotiation of identity and hybrid cultural production in early twenty-first-century Spain and Portugal. I identify here two subgenres of indie and electronic music scenes and analyze how the handful of musicians that comprise these burgeoning movements are fighting to keep their respective national cultural traditions alive in the face of iTunes, mp3s, and P2P filesharing that have universalized a certain form of pop music which cuts across languages and cultures. The hybrid musicians I interviewed for this project combine flamenco or fado with a variety of indie sounds: rock, pop, power pop, hip hop, trip hop, post punk, spaghetti western, shoegaze, or experimental electronic. The end result is a musical production which simultaneously attempts to voice their nationality as well as their generation. They are the torchbearers of tradition for an Iberian generation raised on The Velvet Underground, David Bowie, The Clash, The Replacements, Nirvana, and The Strokes. Their music references these and other global indie bands alongside those of twentieth century Iberian urban folk icons—Bambino, Camarón de la Isla, Enrique Morente, Amália Rodrigues, Alfredo Marceneiro, and Carlos do Carmo. I have developed a framework with which to contextualize and conceptualize the various issues addressed by these bands: authenticity, globalization, nostalgia, cultural capital, national-gender identity, and the economic crisis plaguing contemporary Europe.

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Introduction

As I spent the summer of 2008 in Lisbon considering the different possible directions for this dissertation, I saved up some of the FLAS scholarship money I had received to study Portuguese and searched out every single indie record shop in the city with the goal of purchasing as many contemporary Portuguese underground and indie albums as I could find.[1] To my chagrin, all but one indie music store had dedicated their shelves to the hottest international (i.e. Anglophone) indie bands of the moment, without as much as a single space for a contemporary Lisbon band to even consign its latest album. Any promising indie Bairro Alto record shop (Discolecção, for instance) had approximately the same selection as any hip Minneapolis uptown record shop (Treehouse Records, for instance). But at least at Treehouse one can browse through a variety of albums made in Minneapolis. The one independent shop that did have a small selection of recent, non-mainstream Portuguese music was Groovie Records, co-owned by a

[1] The term underground rock is very vague and encompasses a vast field of subgeneric affinity groups and even splinter groups within those groups. In the interest of clarity I will be referring to bands that often are termed simultaneously underground and indie as indie. Indie and underground music were once nearly synonymous terms, and both can be traced back to the same musical ancestors, most notably The Velvet Underground. The term indie developed as a generic indicator out of the independent underground (mostly Anglophone) music scene during the 1970 to the 1980s. After the rampant success of the Aberdeen-based grunge band Nirvana's first major label release *Nevermind* (1991) with DGC Records, other major labels scrambled to cash in on what was also known as "alternative", "progressive", or "modern" rock. The co-optation and commercialization of indie bands by major labels involved a major label buying the contract of a band from an indie label or buying the entire label outright. Indie rock became a catch-all term for more visible, yet still non-mainstream rock, and nearly all rock that could be found on ever-larger independent record labels and indie subsidiaries of the majors. Underground music, on the other hand, refers to a variety of musical subgenres that occasionally develop a subcultural cult following despite their lack of mainstream (an often even indie) appeal, visibility, or commercial promotion. In many instances the line between the two gets somewhat hazy, and is often a product of the way each individual band presents itself to the larger public: an indie rocker might consider himself underground, but an underground musician would rarely consider himself an indie rocker.

dedicated, veteran fan of *música lisboeta*, Luís Futre.[2] I asked Futre about this lack of local representation. Was there just nothing interesting being produced in Portugal at that moment? He assured me this wasn't the case. But he didn't have an answer as to why most Portuguese underground or indie music albums were difficult to find in any other shop but his.

Throughout that summer I used the Myspace.com events calendar to find indie rock shows happening in Lisbon. The relative paucity of indie music events during July and August was not as disturbing as what I encountered at the events themselves, a continuous stream of the ubiquitous international indie sounds in vogue at the moment: soft-core singer/songwriter tunes in the vein of Bon Iver, the hard rock/heavy metal sounds of groups like Boris, experimental music à la Animal Collective, Hold Steady-influenced-pub rock music, generic art-rock akin to Les Savy Fav, etc. Although I appreciated the ability of these musicians to skillfully approximate these styles, I was looking for a sound and lyric that had a bit more *terroir*. I knew I could experience the local urban folk sound in a fado performance in any number of Lisbon's *casas de fado* and the Portuguese rural folk music at various *festas populares*, the outdoor summer festivals celebrated in towns and villages throughout the country. What frustrated me was that I could only see performances of Portuguese indie music or Portuguese folk music, never both in one place nor both in one sound. The music I heard expressed a

[2] Surprisingly enough, although the Lisbon area indie record shops had very little local music represented in their stores at the time, larger multinationals (such as FNAC and El Corte Ingles) had devoted a section to Portuguese indie music, both past and present. I found this an interesting phenomenon as it was the opposite of what I had come to expect from both.

certain place or a certain time, but not a certain place and time.[3] The indie sound I heard on the Lisbon radio airwaves and in the city's music clubs expressed the *now* to a tee, but expressed the place only in the broadest sense—to the point that place seemed an empty signifier. I wondered if the same placeless but time-specific sound was coursing through all of Spain at the same time. The one indie band I saw that seemed to have any sense of their nation's music history was a group called Novembro. The singer Miguel Filipe had commissioned the making of an electric Portuguese guitar to achieve the fado/electronic slow-pop mix that seemed to meld the international sonic with a variety of national signifiers. Filipe lyrically mines a constellation of several distinct Portuguese semiotics, such as the feeling of *saudade*, while remaining within a postmodern, twenty-first century context and mindset.[4] Filipe and his band are also able to blend the vocals of Radiohead's Thom Yorke with Lisbon's own Antonio Variações, incorporating the pounding rhythms and ephemeral melodies of the Portuguese, Celtic-inspired group Sétima Legião, while grounding each song in a Brian Eno-atmospheric ambiance.

The blending of traditional folk poetics, sounds, and signifiers with modern international indie styles is by no means new. The Pogues, formed in 1982 by Shane McGowan, mixed traditional Irish music with punk rock and jazz. Gogol Bordello has become internationally renowned for their wild live shows and tastefully cacophonous mix of Eastern European gypsy music with punk and dub. Even in Portugal and Spain the concept is not novel by any stretch. In Portugal groups like Madredeus and Sétima

[3] This is not to say that fado and the numerous Portuguese rural folk music traditions are no longer relevant today. They are, of course. But no Portuguese friend of mine really ever listened to this music. Most of them told me they outright detested fado and Portuguese rural folk because it seemed regressive to them.
[4] *Saudade* is commonly translated as nostalgia, although many Portuguese citizens maintain the term´s untranslatability. See Chapter Two for a more complete consideration of this Portuguese sentiment.

Legião created a global following through a mix of traditional Portuguese music with other international indie music styles. In Spain, bands such as Hertzainak mixed Basque folk with UK punk and white reggae/ska to create an unusual sound now referred to as Rock Radikal Vasco (Basque Radical Rock).

Nevertheless, I hold that the neofado and neoflamenco movements could be seen as the product of a collective disenchantment with modern society.[5] It addresses a desire to return to a simple, scaled back, sparse sound that functions as a cathartic release for the newfound tensions resulting from the blistering pace of the internet age. Indie neofado and neoflamenco are driven by a kind of nostalgia that looks back euphorically to a lost past. It is not a nostalgia that hopes for the restoration of empire or conservative authoritarian regimes. Quite the opposite, it is a nostalgia that revels in many of the resistant cultures that survived in spite of the dictatorships. As a comparison one could look to various waves of (also quintessentially nostalgic) folk revivals in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a musical palliative for urban neurasthenia, the result of major social upheavals wrought by rampant industrialization. This urban delirium was temporarily cured through the advent of a Great Depression-era folk revival (led by musicians like Woody Guthrie, Lead Belly, and Burl Ives) addressing a sonic need for a return to simpler times; while also challenging

[5] Please see the definitions section below for a thorough consideration of what I mean to imply when I use the terms neofado or neoflamenco. A concise definition for both would be the deliberate integration of fado or flamenco poetics, melodies, harmonies, aesthetics, thematics, etc. by a musician who approximates these urban folk traditions as an outsider. In the majority of cases I investigate throughout this study, these musicians are self-defined as practitioners of indie or indie-electronic music. Nevertheless, I have attempted to highlight a broad spectrum of origins and positions within this hybrid practice which fall under the general terms of neofado and neoflamenco.

the corrupt powers-that-be which had found financial success during the same period through the exploitation of the poor and disenfranchised.

The changes in communication power brought about by the internet combined with the increased concentration of resources into the international reach of the extremely wealthy have produced a similar atmosphere today. The socio-economic characteristics of the first decade of the twenty-first century seem to replicate in some ways the environment that produced the traditional music that this wave of international neofolk now references.[6] This social context must be considered when one approaches the relative novelty of any neofolk music creation.

I began researching this new phenomenon after I returned to Minneapolis from Lisbon in September 2008. While finishing my Ph.D. coursework at the University of Minnesota, I branched out from the department of Hispanic and Lusophone literary and cultural studies to take a course in Ethnomusicology. I began conducting some preliminary primary research on the topic of local underground neofolk, interviewing various Minneapolis neofolk musicians to better understand the importance of the canon and practice from their perspective. Meanwhile, I was researching online the existence of such a movement in Spain and Portugal, conducting online interviews, and laying the social and conceptual groundwork for my eventual fieldwork in Madrid and Lisbon in 2010-2011. I discovered online the existence of a great many Iberian bands that were

[6] See below for a full definition of neofolk. In general it refers to a kind of experimental musical form that branched out of the late twentieth-century post-industrial music scene as a handful of musicians began to integrate the dark sounds and pounding rhythms of various early Anglophone and European folk musics. Neofolk specifically references archaic literary and cultural expression, indigenous pagan belief systems, and local traditions.

practicing various types of glocal hybrid, neofolk, indie, and electronic music.[7] The potential seemed limitless for a sociological investigation of the cultural production within any of these indie subgenres from a theoretical framework based in cultural globalization: one could look, for instance, just within Spain to do a comparative analysis of regional anxieties, etc. as expressed through a glocal indie, electronic, or neofolk sound.[8]

The following section describes my frustration as I began to research twenty-first century Spanish neofolk bands, looking for a distinct indie hybrid creative expression. I decided to hone the focus of the study to just contemporary indie and indie electronic experimentation which borrowed from the two major Iberian urban folk traditions of flamenco and fado. I describe in the following chapter why what I refer to as neoflamenco and neofado seem to make for an ideal comparative field with which to study the process of transcultural hybridization as influenced by the cultural, technological, and economic development of contemporary society under conditions of

[7] The term glocal derives its origins from a late twentieth-century business strategy of multinational corporations, that of glocalization. Glocalization represents an attempt by brands like Sony, Coca-Cola, McDonald's, etc. to adapt their products (or services) specifically to each geographical region and culture in which they are sold. The term was subsequently adopted by a wide variety of international political activists who wished to encourage the practice of thinking globally and acting locally. For our purposes, I refer to glocal as any integration of local and global cultural forms. In many cases, such practice is not necessarily performed intentionally. The hybrid music form that combines flamenco with rock & roll may be done without a conscious attempt to produce a glocal sound. Although the former genre is obviously autochthonous to Spain, the latter seems to rarely be considered truly foreign. The advent of globally shared cultural forms vis-à-vis international communication mediums over the last century has blurred the boundaries of what elements of Iberian expression are local and what are imported. As such, I limit my use of the term glocal to those Iberian cultural expressions which seem to be explicitly reinforcing a dichotomy of Spanish or Portuguese patrimony vs. a (primarily Anglophone) cultural import.

[8] The Spanish autonomous communities of Catalunya, Euskadi, and Galicia have long harbored desires to separate themselves from the rest of Spain. The hybrid indie urban neofolk music production in these communities represents an already long-established tradition that would make for an interesting musicological analysis. I explain below why I eventually decided not to study the indie neofolk music produced by bands coming from these regions.

globalization in Spain and Portugal. I will investigate in Chapter One how specific historical and cultural processes have led to what will be the main focus of my dissertation, namely the twenty-first-century Spanish and Portuguese neoflamenco and neofado music production as a hybrid cultural expression.

My desire is to open a new field in Iberian cultural studies that examines the voices and practices of the many musicians that typically fall between the cracks of art music and popular music. These are the voices of the Portuguese and Spanish indie urban neofolk music scene. Indie artists produce literature, sculptures, albums, etc. that highlight the inconsistencies between national discourses and the underlying hypocrisy or exclusionary policies that have disaffected the (often young and poor) outcast society in which the artist operates. And yet one of the means to these ends is a nostalgia which revels in the very marginalization of these bygone fringe cultures. Whereas much scholarly research in Spanish and Portuguese studies to date focuses on "elite" or popular cultural productions, my research concentrates on the musical and lyrical creations of the indie and indie electronic neofado and neoflamenco subcultures as seen through the work of a handful of groups representing a wide range of perspectives.

The core focus of this study is a tapestry of local, national, supranational, and global forces interacting. It is a consideration of the Iberian urban indie neofolk scene itself: How is it defined, where did it come from, and who is involved? What is its relationship to the Spanish and Portuguese nation-state? This microscopic perspective of two small scenes is intertwined with a more macro view which engages the work of these

musicians on a variety of levels in order to comment on the broader global and local cultural issues that their creative expression represents:

1. An Iberian youth still eager to belong to a European and global community yet increasingly uneasy with the disintegration of national identity/sovereignty as a product of Anglophone cultural hegemony and European economic austerity.

2. The antagonistic relationship between Iberian governments and the often overeducated, yet unemployed or underemployed, youth these institutions fail to adequately represent.

3. A desire to preserve traditional Iberian urban folk culture while ridding flamenco and fado of the entrenched conservative codes and practices which resulted from their decades-long appropriation by the respective right-wing authoritarian dictatorships.

Their position is further complicated as they simultaneously represent a citizenry that is not defined by an association with the nation-state, but rather with a specific affinity group, that of international indie artists. These Spanish and Portuguese musicians had aligned themselves with a global indie youth long before they formed neoflamenco and neofado groups. Now they combine flamenco or fado with the indie sounds to which they had grown up listening: rock, pop, power pop, hip hop, trip hop, punk, post punk, pop punk, garage, spaghetti western, shoegaze, industrial, post industrial, experimental electronic, etc. They are the torchbearers of tradition for an Iberian generation raised on The Velvet Underground, The Sex Pistols, Pere Ubu, The Clash, Patti Smith, Joy

Division, The Replacements, Einstürzende Neubauten, Nirvana, Aphex Twin, Portishead, The Strokes, Tapes 'n Tapes, etc. Their music references these and other global indie/ underground/ electronic bands alongside those of twentieth-century Iberian urban folk icons—Antonio Mairena, Bambino, Camarón de la Isla, Enrique Morente, Amália Rodrigues, Alfredo Marceneiro, and Carlos do Carmo. The musicians included in the following chapters are heirs to both musical traditions. The end result is a musical production which simultaneously voices their nationality as well as their generation. As such, my thesis would not be complete without a consideration of the primary cultural problematics revolving around their chosen affinity group, that of a global indie youth. I explore the assorted cultural issues related to this increasingly interconnected international indie society below and throughout this book. My thesis demonstrates how the internet can be seen as a blessing and a curse for the indie music scene. I've identified certain issues with respect to indie and the internet that have not yet been touched on by other studies which I incorporate into the section below titled Indie Cultural and Subcultural Studies. My primary focus relates to the direct negative effects of such rapid connectivity on indie music traditions: subcultural capital inflation, "band collapse syndrome" (Fitzpatrick 1), the evasiveness of indie authenticity in the internet era, the "pitchforkization" of the musical palette, cultural conspicuous consumption, and subcultural stillbirth.

I follow this analysis of twenty-first-century indie with a consideration of hybrid cultural production. Simply defined, hybridity is mixture. It is the combination of two distinct elements to form another which shares characteristics of both. The concept

originates from biology but since has been used in various fields of study to describe everything from the evolution of a modern language to racial miscegenation. The study of cultural hybridity encompasses all forms of pastiche, *bricolage*, collage, reappropriations, etc. that involve the blending of diverse cultural elements. I begin this section with a brief survey of contemporary thought on cultural hybridity before moving on to the parsing out of various kinds of musical hybridity vis-à-vis the Austrian ethnosociology scholar Wolfgang Holzinger's typology of hybrid music forms. I analyze the music and performance of the indie neofado band Dead Combo with respect to one of Holzinger´s hybrid music types: coalescence.

I am claiming that neoflamenco and neofado must be considered as genres distinct from the hybrid scenes that precede them. I will provide in the following section the background information necessary to understand how these new music traditions can be considered as epistemologically as well as ontologically separate from the hybrid music projects I describe throughout the historical review comprised in Chapter One.

Definitions: Neoflamenco and Neofado

Before explaining the theoretical framework which underlies this study, I would like to devote the present section to establishing a couple of definitions that I will be using throughout the book. I have created the generic terms neoflamenco and neofado to refer to this recent Iberian creative expression not to add to the already myriad genres that have populated the world of twenty-first-century music, but rather to clarify and delineate

the generic focus of this study. Throughout this book I will be referring to specific bands that I consider to fall under the general term Iberian urban neofolk, or the more specific terms neoflamenco and neofado. I use the prefix neo primarily in reference to the relative newness of the phenomena I investigate here. It also serves as a manner to distinguish the various groups studied here from their predecessors which have been labeled Nuevo Flamenco (New Flamenco) and Novo Fado (New Fado), respectively. Different from their New Flamenco and New Fado predecessors, this new generation of urban folk musicians shares stylistic origins such as punk, post-punk, experimental, electronic, industrial, post-industrial, psychedelic rock, etc. That is, the band members I refer to in the following chapters as neoflamenco or neofado musicians are not flamenco and fado practitioners experimenting with indie styles, but rather indie and indie electronic musicians experimenting with flamenco and fado. This is an important distinction because it entails an entirely different worldview that underlies this cultural production.

To begin, we must first consider the stylistic characteristics of international neofolk in general. There exist several similarities amongst the neofado and neoflamenco bands referenced within this study and the relatively broad neofolk music scene. Both attempt to approximate a folk music through an experimental lens that is derived from late twentieth-century influences. The first neofolk bands--Current 93, Death In June, Sol Invictus, etc.--evolved out of the English post-industrial scene around the early to late 1980s. Neofolk has since incorporated a diversity of genres worldwide which share more of an anti-commercial and anti-modern ethos rather than any particular sound. For a band to be considered as neofolk they must reference some folk traditions, but not

necessarily those derived from pagan or archaic European history. Lyrically, however, neofolk bands do often tend to focus on archaic cultural and literary references, as well as local traditions, and indigenous beliefs. The movement was borne out of these first bands´ desire to distance themselves from the sterile, materialist culture that, during the very early years of a new, globally connected community seemed to produce more isolation and sonic homogeneity than ever. This is not to say that the neofolk movement is completely hermitic. Many neofolk bands also lyrically engage current local, national, and international problems, at times elliptically, at times head on. It can be seen as one of the first indie/electronic glocal movements in that it celebrates internationally the traditional values and folklore that arose over time out of very specific geographical areas.

One of the fundamental tenets of neofolk, that of privileging the small community over the nation-state identity, would seem to be a perfect vehicle for the various separatist political movements across Spain which spent most of the latter part of the twentieth century fighting constantly for greater autonomy. Nevertheless, I discovered that many of the Spanish bands that described themselves as neofolk were not using the form as a template with which to revive their own traditional music in order to further a separatist agenda, but were instead reproducing the sound and content of the Anglophone neofolk scene. Of the plethora of Spanish bands that celebrate regional culture, few of them could be considered neofolk. In Spain, bands from regions like Catalunya, Euskadi, Galicia, and Asturias have most often found their politically autonomous voice via other music traditions: folk (Joan Manuel Serrat, Mikel Laboa, Anari), punk (Eskorbuto, La

Polla Records), ska punk (Kortatu), folk/punk/reggae/ska (Hertzainak), and folk/hardcore punk/hip-hop/ska/reggae/rap (Negu Gorriak, Dixebra). The appropriations of traditional music by bands like Hertzainak, Negu Gorriak, and Dixebra could be considered by some as falling under the new umbrella definition of neofolk, but more often tend toward something altogether different.

A primary characteristic in the neofolk sphere involves adapting some of the pre-Christian European folk traditions and topics to a more experimental, and often darker, contemporary sound and lyrical content. Some Spanish neofolk bands, such as the Galician group Trajedesaliva, flirt with the sound and rhythm of the traditional musics of that region (i.e. the *Muiñeira*) which reference Celtic traditions that had marked the region prior to the Roman conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Although the band lyrically privileges Spanish over Galician, the poetics often invoke regional folklore. According to the Trajedesaliva guitarist, Ricardo Rozas, "Escribimos todas las letras en español, nuestra lengua materna. [É]stas han tratado, a lo largo de toda nuestra discografía, sobre los mismos temas: la representación de personajes femeninos, elementos tradicionales de cuentos, nanas y canciones y motivos típicamente siniestros para conseguir con todo esto un efecto bello y estético" (Rozas) (We wrote all the lyrics in Spanish, our mother tongue. These lyrics have dealt with the same themes throughout our entire discography: the representation of female characters, traditional elements of stories, rhymes and songs that have a sinister motif, all of it to achieve an aesthetically beautiful effect").[9] This mix of dark, ominous sound and lyric with traditional themes is similar to the music produced by the first generation neofolk movement.

[9] My translation. All translations throughout this dissertation are mine unless otherwise noted.

The aesthetic appeal of neofolk, with its dual nature detailing the beautiful and the gloomy, the traditional and the new, is an acquired taste nowadays. Several Iberian generations have grown up under major label market dominance, an industry which has spent decades and dollars to hone in on the most widely acceptable musical form and content. So where is the market now for sorrow, despair, and tragedy? It is relegated to the underground, the alternative, the subcultural artist and fan. This is the small market to which international neofolk caters. The allure of Trajedesaliva, according to Rozas, lies in an unconventional semiotic for those who are disturbed by the plastic modern culture that has created a fake utopia devoid of the pain that is part of many people´s everyday life. These lyrics voice the sentiments of a not-so-marginal reality that has been buried for decades beneath the veneer of banal pop music optimism: "Los símbolos que aparecen en las letras tienen mucho que ver con malfortunios (pobreza, locura, enfermedad, muerte, pérdida del objeto amado y de vínculos familiares), presagios, personajes dobles…lesiones, heridas, amputaciones, pesadillas, deseo y temor por la realización de fantasías ocultas y el caos bajo objetos o personas de la cotidianidad" (Rozas) (The symbols that appear in the lyrics have a lot to do with misfortune (poverty, madness, sickness, death, the loss of a beloved object and of family ties), omens, split personalities… injuries, wounds, amputations, nightmares, desire and fear for the realization of hidden fantasies, and the chaos underneath everyday objects or people). Neofolk is not exclusively mired in the dregs, but it does tend to express those tragedies and depths of emotion that the major label algorithms ruled out long ago as distasteful.

Another of the primary movers in the Spanish neofolk scene is the musician and music critic, Pedro Ortega. Ortega´s neofolk band Kuu was influenced by much of the 90s dark wave, goth rock, ambient, and neofolk movements: Das Ich, Nosferatu, Rosetta Stone, Christian Death, Fields of the Nephilim, The Wake, Lycia, Current 93, Sol Invictus, Heavenly Voices, Ataraxia, and Collection d'Arnell Andréa.[10] Kuu represents a predominant side of Spanish youth culture that is deeply connected with international alternative rock culture but not at all interested in regional or national politics (at least prior to the May protests of 2011):[11]

> Las letras de Kuu carecen de sentido político. A mí no me gusta la política. Todas las letras fueron escritas en un momento muy difícil para mí, de confusión, de lucha interna, de muchos cambios a nivel emocional. Todas las canciones son para mí canciones fantasmas. Fue por esta razón por la que decidí editar el Cd después de siete años guardado en un cajón. Quería sacar fuera de mí todos esos fantasmas… Me gusta la escena Dark porque nadie vive de ello, todos son músicos vocacionales y crean auténticas obras de arte, que no se dan en la música comercial…Yo creo que nuestro Cd es verdaderamente underground. Se mueve en un campo muy determinado e incluso dentro de él es minoritario. (Ortega)
>
> (Kuu's lyrics are not political. I do not like politics. All of the lyrics were written in a very difficult time for me, a time of confusion, inner conflict, and many emotional changes. All of the songs for me are ghost songs. It was for this reason that I decided to edit the CD after seven years in a drawer. I wanted to exorcise all those ghosts...I like the Dark scene because no one lives from it, all the musicians are vocational and create true works of art, which are not found in

[10] Ortega, along with Kuu co-founders Bitxo and Matt Howden recorded their one and only album in 2001, which was released under the title "Suomi or the Well of Impossible Wishes" in 2008. Ortega has spent several years devoted not only to creating neofolk music, but also as a neofolk critic. For further information on Ortega´s efforts as a neofolk critic and promoter please see the site Mentenebre.com.

[11] The 2011 Spanish protests is commonly referred to by the start date as 15-M (15th of May), or according to the name given to/adopted by its protagonists, *los Indignados* (the Indignant). This series of generally peaceful, spontaneous demonstrations was initially organized across social networks. The *indignados* organized the protests to begin on the 15th of May of 2011 in the Puerta del Sol center of Madrid as well as in around sixty other urban centers across the country with the motto *¡Democracia Real Ya!* (True Democracy Now!) The protesters set up temporary housing, occupying these urban spaces while calling for profound changes in a wide variety of sociopolitical issues. The primary targets being a corrupt two-party political system, austerity economics, rampant youth unemployment, and lemon socialism for the financial sector which originally caused the crisis.

> mainstream music...I believe that our CD is truly underground. It moves in a very specific scene, and even within that scene it is a minority.)

Kuu composes lyrics primarily in English, is decidedly apolitical, and draws primarily from Anglophone influences (with the exception of Das Ich, Ataraxia, and Collection d'Arnell Andréa). Ortega considers himself and his band as part of a larger European indie culture rather than part of any specific regional or national subculture. Whereas Trajedesaliva and Kuu are both active participants within the Spanish darkside subculture, and both share similar musical influences, the ways in which they can be considered as neofolk practitioners are decidedly different. Trajedesaliva chose to sing in Spanish whereas Kuu composes completely in English. In a global music market so dominated by the English language, composing in Spanish instead of English is in and of itself a political statement. However, such a stance becomes complicated when we consider that Trajedesaliva could alternatively have composed all of their lyrics in Galician—a very distinct political statement. Kuu is decidedly apolitical and anti-nationalistic. They see themselves as European or as global citizens rather than as Spaniards. As such, none of their music or lyrics reference local or national traditions. Trajedesaliva lyrically and musically incorporate local and national traditions. So which one is authentically neofolk? Or are they both? Or is neither? Establishing which Iberian bands are authentically neofolk falls outside the scope of this study, but it is nevertheless an interesting topic to consider given the curious roots of the canon and practice, especially with respect to those traditions which are shared between Iberian and Anglophone cultures: Christian, pre-Christian, and pagan (Celtic) culture. Much of the Iberian neofolk music that I encountered during my preliminary research seemed to

recreate the fantastical nature and desperate imagery of Anglophone neofolk originators. Such recreation seems to be rooted in an aesthetic approximation to the form and content of the neofolk founders, which could really come from anywhere. Rarely did I find any creative neofolk expression that seemed to be rooted in an Iberian perspective of the shared traditions which underlie the primary generic themes. Indeed it is often difficult to discern within the Iberian neofolk scene where these pre-Christian traditions and neofolk sounds are emanating from. The Azores-based Joy of Nature, for instance, obscures the neofolk origins from which they draw by creating rich, otherworldly music steeped in the international experimental, ambient, and neoclassical sound.[12] Although there are few Portuguese bands that sound like traditional neofolk, there does exist a rich tradition amongst indie musicians to experiment with regional folk form and content.

The latter sort of Portuguese neofolk embraces notions of regional identity through a hybrid musical expression which blends various local folk traditions with (primarily) electronic music (Megafone, O Experimentar Na M'Incomoda, Bandarra, Galandum Galundaina, etc.) Although these bands embrace local distinctiveness, it is more often celebratory than antagonistic. Perhaps this is due to a rural folk culture which, historically, was not as driven toward autonomy as it was in various regions of Spain. Such divisive nationalism, rife throughout Spanish history, was further exacerbated by the reductionist, essentializing politics of Spain under Franco. Franco-era cultural autarky exported to the rest of the world a sanitized *casticismo* imaginary, under

[12] Nevertheless, comparisons could be drawn between The Joy of Nature and Portuguese *música de intervenção*, psych-folk and prog-folk antecedents such as José Afonso, Brigada Victor Jara, Fausto, Petrus Castrus, and Banda do Casaco.

the motto "Spain is Different."[13] This can be contrasted with the image of Portugal which Salazar promoted during the same time period: A heterogeneous, yet cohesive, Lusophone culture which stretched from the backwater metropolis of Lisbon to the colonies abroad--all united in their celebration of the historical maritime and agricultural prowess of its citizens. The potential, therefore, of Portuguese neofolk music to reflect the regional with respect to the national is not as politically charged as it is in Spain. The historically centralized Portuguese government has rarely had to deal with such separatist challenges to national solidarity. In Spain, such challenges are part of everyday life for national government officials. Galician, Basque, or Catalan neofolk could function as a useful tool for separatist musicians to voice their message. Nevertheless, most neofolk practitioners in Spain are completely uninterested in national or regional politics, and separatists across all three regions seem to prefer punk rock, ska, reggae, or some combination of the three over neofolk.

Beyond regional nationalisms, Iberian neofolk bands also address Anglophone cultural hegemony. Folk, neofolk, indie, and indie folk represent four scenes to which myriad Iberian bands currently contribute. These Spanish and Portuguese bands refer to themselves as *un grupo* folk, neofolk, indie, or indie folk. They not only accept the English generic designator, many of them also sing in English and reference Anglophone

[13] Franco´s adaptation of the eighteenth-century, anti-French ideological and cultural stance known as *casticismo* is closely related to his attempts toward economic autarky. Economic and cultural autarky was a way for Franco to celebrate the fact that post-World War II Spain was largely isolated from the international community due to its position as one of the last surviving European authoritarian regimes. Such principles also allowed the Caudillo to focus on interior control and cultural homogenization. *Casticismo* in Franco´s Spain represented the elimination of regional differences via brutal repression within the country while exporting an image of Spain as a land of bullfighters, flamencos, and simple Christian peasants.

culture and tradition. For the Iberian generations raised on MTV and Internet, the U.S. or U.K. rock or folk band is just as much (or even more so) a part of their cultural memory as is a Spanish or Portuguese one. So who is the first musician that comes to mind for a Spaniard when he or she hears the word folk? Is it Mikel Laboa or Bob Dylan?[14] Alejandro Martínez and Marina Gómez, founders of the Murcia-based indie pop duo, Klaus & Kinski, address the need to rethink folk as a global phenomenon:[15]

> Otra vocación que ya introdujeron en el anterior trabajo es la de reivindicar la palabra folk como género universal y no propio de la cultura norteamericana, al igual que hicieron con el bolero en "Mengele y el amor" ahora se acercan a la copla y el pasodoble en "El rey del mambo y la reina de Saba". 'Lo que mal llamamos 'folk' remite a una música popular anglosajona, tan localizable y concreta como la jota aragonesa. Cosas de la colonización cultural. De hecho podríamos considerar a todo el pop como folklore, es la música popular de nuestro tiempo, los tiempos de los medios de comunicación de masas. Así que no vemos por qué hay que usar sólo referentes anglosajones. De hecho demasiado esclavos de la influencia anglosajona somos, y nosotros los primerísimos.' (Arturo García)
>
> (Another calling that Klaus & Kinski had already introduced in their previous work is to reclaim the word folk as a universal genre and not solely owned by American culture. Just as they did with the bolero in "Mengele y el amor" now they are reworking the copla and the pasodoble in "El rey del mambo y la reina de Saba". 'What is poorly termed 'folk' refers to an Anglo-Saxon popular music, as easily locatable and specific as the Aragonese jota. These things [are aspects] of cultural colonization. In fact we could consider all pop as folklore, it is the popular music of our time, the era of mass media. So I do not see why we should only be using Anglo-Saxon references. In fact we [Spaniards] are too often the slaves of Anglo-Saxon influence, and we [Klaus & Kinski] are the guiltiest.')

Klaus & Kinski are acutely aware of the manner in which a creeping Anglophone cultural colonization has affected the way in which they listen and create music. However, Martínez and Gómez don't shy away from those international influences, but rather

[14] Laboa was a Basque folk singer-songwriter who founded the cultural group Ez Dok Amairu (There is no 13) which sought to revitalize Basque culture during the 1960s. He is considered by many as the patriarch of Basque folk music, performing and producing prolifically for nearly four decades until his death in 2008.
[15] Klaus & Kinski formed in 2005, releasing their debut album, *Tu hoguera está ardiendo,* in 2008.

embrace them while taking advantage of the rich musical heritage of their homeland to create a new sound within a scene dominated by composers from the United States, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. I asked Martínez to elaborate on the statement above:

> Cuando digo que el pop es el folklore de nuestro tiempo me refiero a que es lo que más se acerca a las premisas del folklore. A saber: es una música no culta, es decir, no hecha por profesionales formados en los rudimentos técnicos musicales (esto es cierto sólo en parte y con excepciones). Por otra parte, el folklore es música de tradición oral, no escrita y llegada en partitura como la clásica. Sustituyamos la tradición oral por la difusión de los medios de comunicación de masas audiovisuales, fenómeno propio del XX. También es la que consume un amplio porcentaje de la población, dada su facilidad de asimilación, reservándose músicas más eruditas para niveles mayores de formación. Es técnica y estructuralmente sencilla, al menos comparada con el jazz o el clásico, aunque haya excepciones. Así que hoy día, ¿cuál es el folklore? Nadie anda por ahí inventando jotas o cantos de siembra, pero la gente tatarea Lady GaGa y ligotea en los antros de cortejo de la especie con Beyoncé. Vienen a desempeñar similares funciones la música pop y el folklore, aunque los autores en el primero no sean anónimos, y ésta es el resultado de un contexto industrial (los medios de comunicación audiovisuales) que modifica el entorno cultural de siglos anteriores. (Martínez)
>
> (When I say pop is the folklore of our time, I mean that it is what comes closest to the premises of folklore. Namely, this is a music which is not educated, which is not made by professional technicians trained in the fundamentals of music (this is true only in part and with exceptions). Moreover, the folk music tradition is oral, not written as the classic score is. We substitute oral tradition with the audiovisual creations disseminated via mass media, a phenomenon of the twentieth century. In addition, it is what is consumed by a large percentage of the population, given its ease of assimilation, whereas most erudite music is reserved for those endowed with higher levels of education. It is technically and structurally simple, at least compared with jazz or classical music, although there are exceptions. So today, what is folklore? Nobody goes around inventing jotas or fieldwork songs, but people hum Lady GaGa songs and hook up in clubs to Beyonce. Pop music and folklore play similar roles, although the authors in the former are not anonymous, and this is the result of an industrial context (the audiovisual media) which is a change from the cultural environment of previous centuries.)

This recognition that folk music is arbitrary, timeless, and placeless—that it is available to all to interpret and to recreate in their own way--has encouraged many present-day neofolk groups across the world to utilize the various global folk forms and traditions as they see fit.

This, I believe, is where the backgrounds, sentiments, and politics of the international neofolk scene seem to fuse with those of the twenty-first-century innovators of Iberian urban folk musics: They are a motley crew of disenchanted rockers, ex-punks, electrónica technofiles, and 'glocally aware' indie innovators. All of the musicians I highlight in the subsequent chapters come from locales connected to flamenco and fado, but are not professionals in these spheres. The musicians I present in this study come from diverse backgrounds. Some were raised on a healthy diet of flamenco and fado at home while they simultaneously grew up voraciously consuming an assorted hodgepodge of international music--rock & roll, R&B, pop, garage, psych-rock, prog-rock, experimental, industrial, ambient, trip hop, punk, post punk, new wave, no-wave, art-rock, post industrial, noise, rap, metal, grunge, techno, Brit pop, indie lo-fi, etc.. Growing up with an appreciation for both their respective urban folk music and the international sounds pumped through the radio station, LP, cassette, or CD of their choice, they discovered and honed their sound. This wide array of backgrounds and mentalities has evolved over the last few decades in Portugal and Spain to create a rich and vibrant music scene that is grounded equally in the past as it is in the present and in the international as it is in the local.

Methodology and Theoretical Framework

The following sections focus on various theoretical structures which frame my understanding and analysis of the contemporary neoflamenco and neofado scenes. The overarching focus of this dissertation is the phenomenon of hybridity as seen in twentieth- and twenty-first-century Iberian indie and indie electronic urban neofolk musical creations. Logically, then, I will be drawing from the conceptual theoretical frameworks developed by various contemporary scholars on the nature of indie subculture and the process of transcultural hybrid artistry under conditions of globalization.[16] My relation to this project is in itself hybrid in nature: With respect to my ethnomusicological position, I represent a hybrid perspective that is both emic and etic. I represent an emic perspective in that I come from within the culture of twenty-first-century international indie. Besides being a fan of indie music for most of my life, I have also spent the majority of the last two decades as a composer/guitarist for several indie bands based out of Minneapolis. I represent the etic perspective with regards to the realm of Spanish and Portuguese cultures. My academic approach to this phenomenon encompasses theories from sociology, anthropology, cultural and subcultural studies, and ethnomusicology. Through archival research, participant observation, lyrical analysis, and personal/email interviews, I have attempted to ascertain the what, how, and why behind the cultural production of these Iberian scenes. With each interview, I attempt to employ what the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz refers to as thick description:

[16] I refer to indie here in the broadest of terms, encapsulating all of its subgenres including indie electronic music.

Recording interviews, transcribing them, and then sending each musician the interview transcriptions (as well as my own notes and preliminary analysis) in order to get their feedback before writing the first drafts.[17] When possible, the musicians have received and made comments on these and further drafts before the final publication. This variety of methodological approaches has provided me with the tools necessary to observe, analyze, interpret, and graph the musical and social phenomena I encountered during my fieldwork in Madrid and Lisbon. Through this hybrid blend of theoretical frameworks and methodologies my research aims to address some of the main cultural issues facing Portugal and Spain in the wake of their respective transitions to democracy until today: The ideological remnants of the paternalistic, chauvinistic, right-wing, authoritarian rule of the dictatorships still prevalent in Spanish and Portuguese politics and society; the socio-economic aftereffects of the global financial meltdown along with the subsequent austerity measures and loss of Portuguese and Spanish sovereignty in the wake of EU and IMF intervention; the homogenizing impact of encroaching cultural globalization; the effects of immigration and emigration; changes in gender roles; the pursuit of a locally based sustainable capitalism; media piracy and intellectual property rights; etc. The aforementioned theoretical perspectives will also offer a foundation for a richer understanding of the aesthetics, preoccupations, and creative methods of twenty-first-century indie and indie electronic urban neofolk musicians in Portugal and Spain. These musicians wrestle constantly with several of the aforementioned national issues, while also confronting the contemporary challenges of their global peers: A crumbling

[17] See Clifford Geertz's article "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture" in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (1973).

international record industry, a global battle over intellectual property rights, the economically untenable relationship between musical supply and demand, an unsustainable capitalist system, etc. The primary concern these Iberian musicians share with their international colleagues is the difficulty in finding a unique expression. The challenge for neofado and neoflamenco composers is to at once voice the specific anxieties of a globally connected youth in the twenty-first century, and at the same time maintain some semblance of a distinct Portuguese or Spanish national identity in their musical and lyrical semiotic. Remaining innovative and relevant seems to be increasingly more complex in an atmosphere where the international indie scenes churn through bands at an increasingly rapid pace, highlighting a new group or movement for a moment before moving on to another. This final concern represents part of a theoretical framework which I have elaborated below to give flesh to my next focus: indie cultural studies. I follow this section with a description of another theoretical underpinning of my study, that of cultural hybridity.

Indie Cultural and Subcultural Studies

Most of the research that has been conducted thus far on the cultural impact of indie music creation has focused solely on Anglophone music scenes. I have been inspired as a scholar by these studies as well as by my own experience with indie and underground music scenes here in the United States as a musician and fan. The third chapter of this study grapples with generic identity issues and practices vis-à-vis a variety

of case studies: Pioneers, authenticity, DIY (Do-It-Yourself), etc.[18] This comparative focus dialogues with contemporary international indie praxis while highlighting the manner in which indie neoflamenco and neofado composers create music within the context of relatively recent democratic societies, in a united European community, and in an increasingly interconnected world. Also, through the study of the cultural (and countercultural) meta-text provided by these Spanish and Portuguese musical creations, I hope to underscore the possibility of studying music unmediated by corporate interests--as it often is in contemporary mainstream popular music--outside of strictly Anglophone cultures. Such subcultural musical production is typically the product of a widespread disenchantment amongst largely marginalized communities which have no space even within their own nations to communicate their messages.

The Subcultural Roots of Indie

The first subcultures noted by a new breed of embedded sociologists were the high-visibility, working-class Teddys found in post-war England. This unified problematic youth culture was identified as a consumption-based, classless, often violent offshoot from "normal" society that could be considered the product of a rupture from the traditional class-divided social order. The violence of World War II experienced by many English youths, as well as the accompanying loss of a father figure (at war abroad)

[18] DIY is the practice of creating or repairing any product by using whatever means available to the individual or group of creators in order to save money, entertain oneself, or learn a trade without formal training. It is often associated as a foundational philosophy of punk, indie, and underground movements in music due to their marginal economic and social status, as well as their tendency to scorn any capitalist, corporate agenda. The DIY philosophy stretches beyond material production (in which it can also be considered an aesthetic) to the often non-tangible world of social networking, job creation, promotion, etc. It is known in Portuguese as *faça você mesmo (FVM)*, and in Spanish as *hazlo tú mismo* (HTM), or *hágalo usted mismo* (HUM--for the more polite punk rocker.)

provided the foundation for a cultural revolution, manifesting itself through a breakdown of commonly held values and the production of new, youthful worldviews. These new "folk devils" carried switchblades and often engaged in race-based violence throughout the mid-1950s as increased immigration to the United Kingdom upset the status quo of traditionally white, working-class neighborhoods.

During the 1960s, new subcultures emerged in England--mods, rockers, skinheads, and middle-class hippies - that would each define themselves by where they lived, what drugs they consumed, what clothes they wore, which kind of vehicle they drove, who their enemies were, to which class they belonged, to what goals they aspired, and to what music they listened. Whereas the mods of east and southeast London opted for skinny, tailored suits, scooters, and amphetamines, the rockers identified with the renewed rebellious delinquency of the biker and greaser American subculture, majestically portrayed by Marlon Brando in *The Wild One* (1953).[19] They listened to American rock 'n' roll, wore black leather jackets, studs, boots, and blue jeans, and drove motorcycles in tight-knit gangs. The rockers were tied to the Teddy Boys due to their working-class origins, as well as their wild, anti-authority and sexist mindset. The late 1960s saw the advent of the violent, racist, ultra-masculine, working-class skinheads. The skinheads were defined by the targets of their various "bashings": Paki-bashing, queer-bashing, Jew-bashing, and the non-discriminate bashing involved in their general

[19] The rootless, aggressiveness of Brando's character in this movie would help form a later mentality with which the 1970s deliberately offensive punk movement could easily sympathize: rebellion for the sake of rebellion. When Brando's character Johnny is questioned "What are you rebelling against?" he promptly replies "What have you got?" This anarchistic rhetoric, an antagonistic stance against all aspects of government and the society it produces, would serve as a model for the next generation of youth subcultures in the U.S., the U.K, and later Spain and Portugal.

football hooliganism. The skinhead reaction to a new wave of immigrants arriving from India and Pakistan into their neighborhoods was a fiercely displaced defense of cultural homogeneity within that which they perceived as their turf (the street corner, the pub, and the football field). As the moniker implies, they were characterized by their shaved heads, as well as an adoption of traditionally industrial work attire: Doc Martens, rolled-up jeans or sta-pressed trousers, suspenders, and button-down collared shirts. Violence against anyone considered as an Other was the modus operandi, always justified by a defense of some possible magical return to an imagined past--a racially, sexually, and ideologically pure territory and class.

The 1970s saw the English inception of a new subculture derived partially from the American garage and English glam hedonistic, gender-bending nihilism: Punkers. The punk refusal to conform to any singular prior identity or established political agenda could be defined better by what they were not: They were not market-oriented. They were not derivative. They would not conform to any societal norm.[20] The new English punk was usually anti-racist and anti-Nazi league (and therefore enemies of the second wave of skinheads in the 1970s). He was instead partially connected with the Rastafarian movement and entirely a physical embodiment of the general disenchantment with the economic failures and inequalities of 1970s England.[21]

[20] This refusal to conform was also manifesting itself economically. The style and attitude of the typical English punk assured that he would never be employed in what was considered a dead-end job.
[21] Dick Hebdige (1979) was one of the first subcultural sociologists to draw parallels between the punks and Rastafarians: both came from similar housing estates, both were educated on the same irrelevant curricula, and both felt a similar sense of alienation and antagonism towards the existing social order.

The punk subculture was often identified with the raucous music it produced and the rejection of a failed evolution of rock 'n' roll, personified by aging superstars playing complex electronic, psychedelic, prog, proto-metal, or straight-up stadium rock while charging exorbitant prices for concert tickets:

> Punks rejected the separation between artist and audience, and punk musicians emphasized their identification with their audience, often signaled by reciprocal spitting at concerts. (A stereotypical feature of punk rock gigs was that the band members and audience spat at each other, an act which has been interpreted as symbolizing their equal status and cohesiveness.) (Widdicombe and Wooffitt 11-12)

The punk subcultural roots which would heavily influence the British and American indie scene in the late 70s and early 80s epitomized an anarchic spirit, fuelled by a common sense of purpose: a complete rupture with all that rock had come to stand for. As John Lydon (aka Sex Pistols founder and lead singer Johnny Rotten) reflected, "the Pistols finished rock 'n' roll, that was the last rock 'n' roll band. It's all over now. Rock 'n' roll is shit. It's dismal. Grandad danced to it. I'm not interested in it. I think music has reached an all-time low" (Isler 1). Punk was immediately followed by post punk, one of the first of the indie practices which represented another absolute rupture. Post punk maintained much of the anarchistic, nihilistic, and communal spirit of punk, while introducing a darker, more introverted, and experimental sound, style, and lyric.[22]

[22] Post punk opened up new avenues for its punk predecessor. To create its new sonic, post punk would draw from a broad experimental and hybrid palette: The dance grooves of American funk and disco, the experimental potential of synthesizers along with the constant repetitiveness of Krautrock, the heavy bass-driven beats of Jamaican dub music, etc. It would later give way to the development of other scenes as diverse as industrial, post industrial, new wave, goth, and neofolk.

The development of all the successive subcultures that preceded indie caused a flurry of sociological interpretations throughout the late 1950s and early 1960s. Subsequent observations by members of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham would build on such proto-subculture theory with a theoretical foundation grounded in Adorno and the Frankfurt School as well as Marxism, feminism, post-structuralism, and critical race theory. Dick Hebdige would establish himself here alongside Stuart Hall as pioneers of subcultural theory. In his 1979 study *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, Hebdige details a drastic counter-narrative to the traditional English discourse, defying earlier studies which were based on preconceived notions of a homogenous, indifferent, ineffective youth society. Some prior theories argued that the working-class, delinquent, youth cultures rejected the middle-class values projected by the school systems. Other theories showed that delinquents often shared middle-class values based on hedonistic consumption and material status, but the inability of these outcasts to realize these socially normalized goals through legal means caused them to turn to illegitimate methods of acquisition. On a structural level, New Subcultural Theory (NST) articulated the subcultural problem within the context of its geographical and historical roots, while acknowledging the structural relations and inherent inequalities as the underlying force of their respective formations. Subcultures were seen as a reaction to a wide range of problems faced by disadvantaged youth: Unemployment, poor education, low pay in dead-end jobs, etc. The NST theorists argued that these solutions were not resolved directly, but rather through symbolic means, mainly through style:

> Style enables the young working-class person to achieve in image what they cannot achieve in reality. For example, the teddy boys' appropriation of an upper-class style, in the form of Edwardian dress coats, 'covered the gap' between the implicated lifestyle and their largely manual, unskilled, low status real careers and life chances. Subcultural styles then were seen as symbolic resources in the young person's resistance against societal inequalities. (Widdicombe and Wooffitt 17)

Subcultures are then interpreted as a form of resistance which is often symbolically represented through a collective style. Nevertheless, the collective "resistance through rituals" of these subcultures also expresses itself in a variety of ways outside of a simple symbolic aesthetic expressed through the language they use, the music they listen to, the aggressive heterosexual male role they portray, the imagined community they defend—the entirety of oppositional dichotomies (political, economic, ethnic, geographical, sexual, and religious) that they protect.[23]

Indie style is as varied as is the multitude of subgenres that make it up. Indie subcultures (to the extent that they still do in fact today exist) borrow from all of these and other prior subcultures, adding original accents from time to time to this pastiche. Any in-depth look at present-day indie subcultures is beyond the scope of this study. Throughout this study I will occasionally touch on a few of the subcultures that contribute to indie neoflamenco and neofado. In the following sections, I attempt a general conceptualization of how indie could potentially be defined as well as some of the major challenges the international scene faces in the present.

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[23] Alliance to a specific subculture involved allegiance to a specific worldview that positioned each member in direct opposition to a simplified reduction of its many Others. The skinhead, for instance, was starkly proletarian, dressing down for a working-class aesthetic as opposed to the mods' bourgeois look. As opposed to the feminists, hippies, and homosexuals, the skinhead was chauvinist, puritanical, and aggressively straight. The skinhead defended his race and space by 'paki-bashing'. See Stuart Hall´s *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain* (1975) for more on this phenomenon.

The Indie Breakdown

Although I devote the third chapter specifically to twenty-first-century indie neofado and neoflamenco bands, all of the bands I present in this study are in some way indie. Indie anthropologist Wendy Fonarow's study *Empire of Dirt: The Aesthetics and Rituals of British Indie Music* (2006) provides a useful guide for classifying the signs of indie. Fonarow dissects indie evolution in order to hone in on a series of possible definitions for the genre. Fonarow considers authentic indie practice as pertaining to one or more of the following five categories:

1. Means of distribution[24]
2. The musical genre with respect to its distinct sound and style[25]
3. The manner in which the genre portrays a particular ethos[26]

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[24] "The music industry defines independent music by a specific set of practices regarding the nature of ownership of the mode of circulation to the public" (Fonarow 30). Historically, bands which had chosen to use independent distribution channels were considered for inclusion on independent retail charts. Although many major labels have, over time, contracted, purchased, or developed their own independent distributor (known as crypto-indie) as a sort of R&D or farm league project (thereby negating much of the original spirit of the indie distribution mechanism), the distribution channel of an indie musician is still used as a primary identification tool for determining whether or not the band can be considered indie. In my research, some of the bands use indie distributors, some distribute their own music, and some are signed with Iberian subsidiaries of the international majors which use their own nationally based independent distribution channels. See Wendy Fonarow's first chapter "What is 'Indie'" for a detailed history of the industrial definition of indie as a mode of distribution.

[25] "Adherence to indie's generic features allows bands that do not have an independent label or independent distribution to be considered by some to have membership within the indie community" (Fonarow 39). Fonarow here draws from an established aesthetic and philosophy that have primarily characterized the earliest Anglophone indie bands. She points to a tradition of homogeneity in regards to gender, race, age, instrumental combination, sartorial expressions, as well as a sonic austerity often characterized by effeminate, introverted, self-effacing, nostalgic, melancholic, and luddite tendencies. Several of the bands highlighted in this study share some of these characteristics (with the exception of instrumental combination), which I will introduce when appropriate.

[26] "For many, indie is the spirit of independence, being free from control, dependence, or interference. Self-reliance, not depending on the authority of others, has been the guiding value of indie music, as has the autonomy of the artist" (Fonarow 51). This ethos is summed up, for the most part, by a commitment to Do-It-Yourself (DIY) everything: composition, styling, recording, editing, mixing, mastering, pressing, releasing, distributing, promoting, advertising, merchandising, performing, label creation, etc. All of the bands that I cover here practice, in varying degrees, D.I.Y. art--out of necessity, a desire for complete autonomy, or both. Fonarow also addresses a few sociological traits common amongst those professing this

4. A category of critical assessment
5. The music with respect to its various 'Others' (i.e. mainstream pop and rock, jazz, classical, country, blues, etc.)

The indie community's arguments over membership deal with the nature of the ownership of musical recordings and their mode of distribution to a larger public, the nature of musical production practices and their relationship to musical forms, and the relationship between audience members and the music (Fonarow 26).

Fonarow captures much of the driving forces and principal discourses still in vogue across indie today. She begins by addressing the historically predominant voice in the indie world—that of the weekly music press. Ever since the first underground DIY 'zine was sloppily patched together, the "independent mindset" of the typical indie fan has been heavily influenced by this important cultural gatekeeper. Indie opinions have been molded for decades according to the tastes of a select group of tastemaker critics. With such power in their hands, their decision on a particular new release--whether they are writing for the seminal music revue weeklies such as NME, Rolling Stone, Spin, or for influential online sites such as Pitchfork Media--has a dramatic effect on the potential sustained success of the band in question. The ratings of songs, albums, and bands by these tastemakers have a direct effect on the bottom line for these musicians given that so many faithful NME and Pitchfork readers will buy accordingly.

Indie Cultural Economics

From an economic perspective, these critics play an important role in the indie scene due to their ability to winnow down a vast gamut of possible commodities into a select canon. The value of any release can be quantified in comparison to other recent

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particular indie ethos which includes, but is not limited to, a middle-class, tolerant (not racist, sexist, or homophobic), and liberal mindset.

albums as critiques are often based on a numerical rating system. As more and more indie bands find cheap and easy ways to produce albums, the proliferation of available music over the first decade of the twenty-first century has created a supply that is so far beyond the actual demand that the services provided by the indie music critic is akin to a visible hand pushing down the supply curve toward an acceptable price equilibrium. Nevertheless, indie music journalists suffer from a debilitating supply curve akin to the bands they rate. Just as indie groups are finding it easier and cheaper to create music, renegade music critics can create their own forum with a keystroke and an evangelical fan base. This twenty-first-century omnipresent supply of free music criticism has pressured established weeklies and websites to remain competitive by constantly searching for new musical creations in order to keep reader interest and attention. The subscribers to a gatekeeper like NME trade economic capital for cultural and subcultural capital in order to remain abreast of such new indie and underground talent.[27] Ever since the advent of music blogs like Pitchfork and Brooklyn Vegan, the indie music fan no longer need sacrifice economic capital in exchange for a constant supply of this information. The recent phenomenon of a free music blogosphere has fostered an environment for the exponential growth of amateur music criticism. The result of this exponential growth in music criticism is akin to the cable 24-hour news cycle: constant repetition, an infinite supply of barely distinguishable angles on a recent event, ridiculous hyperbole, and rapid turnover. The speed of revelation and dismissal of new indie bands has the intensity of a strobe light. Fonarow mentions this as an issue for indie music even

[27] Please see the following theoretical framework for more information on the role of such gatekeepers in providing an incessant supply of potential subcultural capital material for their respective readers.

during the nineties, well before the explosive growth in music criticism supply brought by the advent of the blogosphere.[28]

The channel surf mentality of indie music press is hardly a new phenomenon; it has just grown more assiduous and aggressive. A decade ago, a band such as R.E.M., after reaching a certain status in the world of indie music, could be assured that every new release would be reviewed in all major indie music weeklies, would receive fairly decent marks, and would sell accordingly.[29] The lifespan of a would-be R.E.M., nowadays, is substantially shorter due in large part to the aforementioned forces which affect band and critic alike. Rob Fitzpatrick highlighted in October 2011 how common it has become for indie bands to hit it big on the first album, only to see sales drop by up to 90% for the following release. Fitzpatrick, who investigates what he terms "band collapse syndrome," mentions several factors that could lead to this phenomenon while underscoring the importance today of radio support. Fitzpatrick scarcely even mentions print media. The author also cynically comments on indie fan and label support, indicating that both seem only to support the current hitmaker, "if success has many parents, failure is an orphan" (Fitzpatrick 1). In a 2010 interview for Heineken´s online music blog, the Seville-based indie group, Pony Bravo, voiced a desire that is shared by many indie musicians—to be given the sufficient time and the critical support necessary to evolve and to find a coherent voice: "Ahora nos va bien con el humor andaluz y la música psicodélica y progresiva pero lo mismo un día deja de hacer gracia y nos ponen a

[28] "The indie community has a rapid turnover of bands, in part because of the furious pace of a weekly press; there is a constant need for new bands and trends to fill copy" (26).
[29] After over thirty years as a successful indie band, R.E.M. finally called it quits in September of 2011.

parir" (Gallardo 2010) (Nowadays people enjoy our Andalusian humor, and our psychedelic and progressive music, but I´m sure one day it won´t be funny anymore and people will start badmouthing us).

Fonarow sees this particular sickness (of an increasingly shorter attention span amongst critics and fans alike) as a result of the desire of a large segment of individuals within the indie community to constantly be ahead of the pack. For music critics, obviously, it is a part of their job. For the fans, it is a matter of reputation amongst their peers which manifests itself as cultural capital:

> In a particular segment of the indie community, once a member personally discovers a great band, he feels a certain proprietary right to the band. He will try to get other friends to like the band, but at the same time he feels that the band is 'his.' When the band becomes successful, his ownership feels diluted as if some personal control over the artist has been lost. (Fonarow 64)

The fan here generously shares a sort of cultural insider information, only to later feel a desire to wish his words back. This can be seen as a sort of cultural reneging. The fan believes he has inadvertently contributed to the fame of the band and regrets his cultural capital profligacy. If he hadn´t so adamantly promoted the band they never would have reached such levels of success, and he would still be able to see the group perform in a small, intimate club. He feels a loss. His research can now be considered a sunk cost, irretrievable as the knowledge he helped to divulge is now shared by all. As we see here, for the indie fan on the vanguard, cultural capital too can suffer inflationary pressures.

This inflation of cultural and subcultural capital has been exacerbated by the easy access to the ubiquitous amount of information on past and present cult and underground bands available on the internet. In the past this kind of insider information was available

only to a select group of dedicated underground music fans who followed the minutiae of a handful of very influential, but at the time, mostly unknown music groups vis-á-vis handmade zines and invite-only basement shows. The corporate exploitation of the early nineties American grunge scene was the final nail in the coffin for indie misfit culture. This co-optation of the last vestiges of indie subculture essentially normalized the practice through its forced incorporation into mass media. The tastemakers of yore perceived the beginning of their end as subcultural capital monopolists within the realm of marginalized indie musical experimentation. Their role as curators of the best that Anglophone indie music had to offer increasingly diminished over the course of the final decade of the twentieth century as indie became more aesthetically accessible and more widely enjoyed by traditionally mainstream audiences. The indie canon also became easier to access as pre-Google search engines like Yahoo and AltaVista helped direct dedicated, young indie novices to the roots of their indie scene of choice. The subcultural capital benefactors and tastemakers saw their influence wane on a local as well as global scale.

The massive success of Anglophone indie culminated around the turn of the millennium with the advent of the overnight successes, a phenomenon that only the twenty-first-century internet era could provide. Viral marketing campaigns helped ignite the sphere of proto-social networks, causing word-of-mouth dissemination to catapult bands like The Strokes to instant stardom.[30] The sentiment of a loss of purpose, and

[30] The Strokes became the first overnight indie success to truly go viral. Their album was released in the United States just a month after the September 11th, 2001, terrorist attacks on the New York City World Trade Center Twin Towers. Despite the fact that the original release contained a vitriolic critique of NYPD

indeed a lack of identity amongst old school indie fans is voiced succinctly in the lyrics penned by LCD Soundsystem frontman James Murphy on their first single "Losing My Edge," released July 8th, 2002:[31]

Yeah, I'm losing my edge.
I'm losing my edge.
The kids are coming up from behind.
I'm losing my edge.
I'm losing my edge to the kids from France and from London.
But I was there.

I was there in 1968.
I was there at the first Can show in Cologne.
I'm losing my edge.
I'm losing my edge to the kids whose footsteps I hear when they get on the decks.
I'm losing my edge to the internet seekers who can tell me every member of every good group from 1962 to 1978.
I'm losing my edge.

To all the kids in Tokyo and Berlin.
I'm losing my edge to the art-school Brooklynites in little jackets and borrowed nostalgia for the unremembered eighties.

Murphy, within the first three stanzas of the song, underscores several of the sources causing the twenty-first-century indie hipster a particularly grating anxiety. After all the years of groundbreaking toil in disseminating the concept of *fin de siècle* cool for the rest of the would-be hip world to follow (according to the traditional roles of center-periphery

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stupidity ("New York City Cops" which was replaced before pressing by the innocuous song "When It Started"), the band did not experience any patriotic retaliation. I remember seeing The Strokes perform just a couple weeks after 9/11 in a small Minneapolis club called the 7th Street Entry. Casablancas, high as a kite and shrouded in darkness, hung from the 7th Street rafters while introducing "New York City Cops" with the preface "This song has nothin´ to do with nothin´." Casablanca's slack-jawed nihilism seemed the very essence of the disintegration of the soul as product of geographical determinism. He embodied that seedy NYC underbelly which, despite one's frequent visits to friends and family living in the city, always proved elusive. For several months afterward I remember it being virtually impossible to go anywhere in Minneapolis without hearing their music blaring from cars, bars, and apartments.

[31] Like many of the bands I research throughout the following chapters, LCD Soundsystem is considered both indie and electronic.

indie relations), the global reach of the information age allowed for a leveling of the subcultural capital playing field.[32] The barriers to entry for a would-be tastemaker were limited only by the speed of his internet connection. From London to Berlin to Tokyo to Brooklyn, everyone who could devote the time to studying the indie canon and scouring the internet for the latest hot new sound was now potentially hipper, more knowledgeable, and anxiously eager to usurp the power of the established gatekeepers of yesteryear.

And what is the only defense that this fallen subcultural tycoon (as voiced by Murphy) can muster? "I was there." This is, in essence, the only expression of cool that the new generation of hipsters cannot lay claim to: actually seeing the first Can show in West Germany or the Modern Lovers open for The New York Dolls at the Mercer Arts Center on the first day of an auspicious 1973, etc. Actually *being* there. Sure they can know it happened, and maybe they can even describe several of the intimate details of the event, but it is no replacement for the first-hand experience that they will never have access to. This is the last shred of symbolic and subcultural capital that the original indie diehard (which Murphy here represents) can hold onto.

Murphy's defiant "I was there," echoes the Benjaminian dichotomy between auratic and nonauratic artforms: "In even the most perfect reproduction, one thing is lacking: the here and now of the work of art—its unique existence in a particular place. It is this unique existence—and nothing else—that bears the mark of the history to which the work has been subject" (Benjamin 21). Walter Benjamin claims that the reproduction

[32] The center being primarily the U.S. the U.K., and Australia; the periphery being everywhere else.

of the work of art leads to the withering of its aura because it "detaches the reproduced object from the sphere of tradition. By replicating the work many times over, it substitutes a mass existence for a unique existence" (Benjamin 22).[33] The devaluation of the "here and now" authenticity of an original work of art via technological reproducibility affects the authority of the work itself as well as that of the canon to which it belongs. This is thus a challenge to the dominant powers of artistic orthodoxy that decide the canon past and present, and a subversion of hegemonic power in general:

> If the work of art remains a fetish, a distanced and distancing object that exerts an irrational and incontrovertible power, it attains a cultural position that lends it a sacrosanct inviolability. It also remains in the hands of a privileged few. The auratic work exerts claims to power that parallel and reinforce the larger claims to political power of the class for whom such objects are most meaningful: the ruling class. The theoretical defense of auratic art was and is central to the maintenance of their power. It is not just that auratic art, with its ritually certified representational strategies, poses no threat to the dominant class, but that the sense of authenticity, authority, and permanence projected by the auratic work of art represents an important cultural substantiation of the claims to power of the dominant class. (M. Jennings 15)[34]

By stating "I was there," Murphy is invoking his authority as guardian of the indie canon in that he witnessed the authentic aura of the artwork involved in the original live

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[33] Aura, for Benjamin, is "a strange tissue of space and time: the unique apparition of a distance, however near it may be. To follow with the eye—while resting on a summer afternoon—a mountain range on the horizon or a branch that casts its shadow on the beholder is to breathe the aura of those mountains, of that branch" (23). Jennings elaborates on this sense of distance (in the art world) as a figurative distance between the work of art and its beholder—"a psychological inapproachability—an authority—claimed for the work on the basis of its position within a tradition" (14). Benjamin considers the aura´s decay as "the desire of the present-day masses to ´get closer´ to things, and their equally passionate concern for overcoming each thing´s uniqueness by assimilating it as a reproduction" (23).

[34] Whereas Jennings is analyzing the role of aura in the preservation of canonical, established art (tied to the ruling classes), Murphy is a spokesperson for the countercultural indie music tradition, and thus neither canonical nor established in the traditional sense. Nevertheless, the claims which are underpinned by his statement "I was there" parallel the very same elite fetishization of the auratic work of art. There is, in fact, a widely agreed-upon indie canon which Murphy refers to within "Losing My Edge" by namedropping a few of its contributors (Suicide, The Modern Lovers, Can, etc.). The ruling class which exerts its claims to power vis-à-vis the auratic work within the indie scene is a mirror of that described by Jennings. See the section below (titled "The Pitchforkization of the Music Palette") for more on the homogenizing effect of this indie gatekeeper on the scene in general.

spectacle of the first Can show in Cologne, for example. Murphy laments the shattering of this important indie tradition in the era of Google, YouTube, and Wikipedia. But more so he mourns the loss of his own subcultural capital as the nonauratic reproduction (or knowledge) of the live show has allowed for an indiscriminate redistribution of such capital amongst the indie masses--the art-school Brooklynites, the kids from France, London, Tokyo, and Berlin. As in Benjamin's time, we are again seeing how the construction of an alternative system of power that could potentially challenge the dominant structures (embodied here by Murphy as metonym for the superstructure of international indie gatekeepers) is enabled vis-à-vis the simultaneous collective reception of a video copy of the New York Doll´s August 27, 1973 performance at Max´s Kansas City uploaded to YouTube (for example).

In the third verse, Murphy mentions a certain borrowed nostalgia which recalls what Arjun Appadurai terms "nostalgia without memory" (30). Appadurai coined this term in reference to a curious Philippine affinity for American popular music. Murphy feels threatened by these art-school Brooklynites due to their deeper knowledge of an era which he experienced firsthand as an adult.[35] Like the Filipinos, many of these young Williamsburg hipsters ´look back to a world they have never lost´ (Appadurai 30). This quote could also describe the neoflamenco and neofado bands I analyze throughout this study. They too have nostalgia without memory. I argue in Chapter Two that, at least for the first Portuguese indie neofado bands, their lack of memory--that is, their lack of a

[35] This subcultural knowledge is easily and rapidly acquired via a variety of informative media available in ample supply on the internet, as well as the kind of entertaining, retro-oriented, decade nostalgia programs created by VH1, etc.

firsthand experience of the Salazar dictatorship and the subsequent transition period--could be considered a prerequisite for such nostalgia.

James Murphy offers some insight into the inspiration for this song which perfectly encapsulates the trappings of accumulated subcultural capital:

> when i was djing, playing can, liquid liquid, esg, all that kind of stuff, i became kind of cool for a moment, which was a total anomaly. and when i heard other djs playing similar music i was like: 'fuck! i'm out of a job! these are my records!' but it was like someone had crept into my brain and said all these words that i hate. did i make the records? did i fuck! so, i started becoming horrified by my own attitude. i had this moment of glory though. people would use me to dj just to get them cool. they'd be like 'it's the cool rock disco guy' and this was really weird. and to be honest i was afraid that this new found coolness was going to go away and that's where 'losing my edge' comes from. it is about being horrified by my own silliness. and then it became a wider thing about people who grip onto other people's creations like they are their own. there is a lot of pathos in that character though because it's born out of inadequacy and love. (Doran)

Murphy captures here a certain attitude that is prevalent amongst much of the twenty-first-century hipster ilk: a self-satisfied smugness in being a fount of cool from which others can draw, combined with a self-disgust experienced when flashes of pride surge from such seemingly ridiculous and superficial sources of cultural capital. Whatever the case, the pathos that Murphy describes succinctly captures many of the details of the collective indie practices, strategies, challenges, and stances that Fonarow sketches out within her first chapter of *Empire of Dirt*. We will see in Chapter Four how the inflation of cultural capital experienced during an era of Portuguese economic stagnation directly affects the indie electronic neofado band A Naifa.

Indie, Neoflamenco, Neofado, and Nostalgia

Although I just flirt above with the concept of nostalgia in indie, neoflamenco, and neofado music, it represents another core concern of my study. Specifically, I consider nostalgia with respect to these music traditions in Chapters Two and Four. Nevertheless, nostalgia underpins nearly all of the hybrid cultural production in this book as it does the very reason behind the study itself. My initial search in Lisbon for a scene that combined two of my favorite music traditions, fado and indie, was a search for a nostalgic defense mechanism against the isolation I experienced in the Portuguese indie clubs I frequented. Finding a local indie scene with a distinct local sound, I imagined, would be as close to home as I could get in Lisbon because it would mirror the kind of local scene I had grown accustomed to in Minneapolis. It was that kind of Lisbon indie scene where I believed that I would discover a like-minded community. Appadurai's concept of the "nostalgia for a world I had never lost" was also a force that constantly drove me back to the *casas de fado*, paying exorbitant entrance fees which I could ill-afford. I didn't understand all the lyrics the fadistas sang, but I understood the sentiment—the *saudade*—that they performed. I had been there all of two months, and I had already grown fatigued with overpriced grilled sardines and pork; overly inky and earthy red wines from the Dão, Douro, Alentejo, or Algarve; inattentive shopkeepers; the constant harassment of pushers on seemingly every corner calling out to me incessantly: "Hashish?...Coca?...Hashish?" Nostalgia hit me in Lisbon as a longing for the comforts of my Minneapolis home, but it also hit me as a longing for the Lisbon home that these fado singers described, which seemed to no longer exist: a pre-Euro Lisbon in which the

food is lovingly prepared and affordable, the shopkeepers know your name and ask how you are, and the only call from a street pusher was "*castanhas quentes!*" (hot chestnuts).

There was also a parallel world of fado which piqued my interest as I read about its nineteenth-century history, its dark side. If this was nostalgia that I was experiencing it was more the kind one feels when watching a gangster or Wild West film--one connected with the romantic: one full of yearnings for a bygone age ruled by passion, *duende*, and the mystical.[36] This kind of nostalgia seemed to predominate in the lyrics and interviews of the indie urban neofolk bands that make up this study. It is a regressive, anti-modern, anti-rational nostalgia—one often associated with totalitarian regimes. And yet all of these musicians seemed to align themselves with a political position that couldn´t be further from fascism (i.e. the first indie neoflamenco performance I caught was Canteca de Macao playing for the centennial celebration of the Spanish anarchist syndicate, the CNT). The link of this kind of nostalgia with fascism becomes even more provocative when the bands that express it are developing a hybrid music involving flamenco or fado. The deployment of flamenco and fado as vehicles for irrational national sentiment and anti-modern cultural autarky under Franco and Salazar was not just a matter of arbitrary indexical markers. These Iberian dictators chose to fix these music traditions as iconic of an essentialized national culture *precisely because*

[36] *Duende* is a term popularized by the Andalusian poet Federico García Lorca who quoted Manuel Torre´s definition in his *Teoría y juego del duende* (1922): "Todo lo que tiene sonidos negros tiene duende" (2) (Everything that has black sounds has *duende*). Lorca further elaborates on the *duende* as some mystical spiritual force: "Para buscar al duende no hay mapa ni ejercicio. Sólo se sabe que quema la sangre como un tópico de vidrios, que agota, que rechaza toda la dulce geometría aprendida, que rompe los estilos, que se apoya en el dolor humano que no tiene consuelo" (4) (There is no map or exercise to find the *duende*. We only know that it burns the blood like a poultice of broken glass, that it exhausts, that it rejects all the sweet geometry we have learned, that is shatters styles, that it rests on human suffering which has no consolation).

traditional flamenco and fado poetics so easily lend themselves to the unification of the community; to the celebration of the irrational and the ineffable; to the glorification of the humble, pious, loyal, patriotic, and, above all, obedient worker/wife/child; to the recognition of national (and ethnic) exceptionalism, and to the mythical restoration of the nation as preeminent amongst global sovereigns. Nostalgia poetics in flamenco can yet today function to produce images for conservative Spaniards, for example, of what they perceive to be the golden era of the Franco regime, marked by these symbols of national strength and stability. And yet the very same flamenco lyrics might also serve the contemporary Spanish socialist to ponder "the unrealized dreams of the past and visions of the future that became obsolete" (Boym xvi)—those dreams and visions of a viable, liberal Spanish Second Republic which were dashed forever in 1939. This is what Svetlana Boym refers to as reflective nostalgia: it is one that revels in the possibility of what could have been, but--as opposed to restorative nostalgia--has no aims to resurrect the conditions under which the successful outcome of such alternative possible worlds could once again finally be realized.[37]

The anti-modern, anti-rational restorative nostalgia used by fascists to condemn the loose morals of contemporary society while projecting a triumphant return to some simulacra of the ideal national home, tempted the proletariat "to relinquish critical thinking for emotional bonding." Boym continues, "The danger of nostalgia is that it

[37] See Chapter Two for a more extensive account of Boym´s concepts of reflective and restorative nostalgias. Boym provides a brief summary of the fundamental differences between the two types of nostalgia in her introduction: "Restorative nostalgia does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition. Reflective nostalgia dwells on the ambivalences of human longing and belonging and does not shy away from the contradictions of modernity. Restorative nostalgia protects the absolute truth, while reflective nostalgia calls it into doubt" (xviii).

tends to confuse the actual home and the imaginary one. In extreme cases it can create a phantom homeland, for the sake of which one is ready to die or kill" (xvi). The reflective nostalgia expressed in some of the lyrics and interview responses of Julián Demoraga, frontman for the indie electronic neoflamenco band El Ultimo Grito, likewise portrays a broken national body suffering twenty-first-century technological dystopia, while also calling the Spanish youth to bravely confront the mystical call of the *duende*. So how are these two nostalgias distinct? Moreover, how does one reconcile such strange bedfellows as fascism and indie via flamenco nostalgia poetics? How could the soft, detached, non-conformist, self-conscious, everything-is-open-to-question irony of cosmopolitan indie rock have anything to do with the most brutal of all twentieth-century isms: the political force that internalizes violence, that fiercely demands conformity, that forbids any form of dissent? How could indie, so saturated with a listless irony which undermines all sincere expression, share any bond with a political position that only deals in passionate, absolute truth hyperbole? I argue that indie, as it is hybridized with flamenco and fado by the musicians that comprise the entirety of this study, may occasionally share with fascist politics a similar nostalgic *means* which manifests itself as: a pervasive anti-modern mysticism (i.e. El Ultimo Grito), a contempt for alien influences (i.e. A Naifa), a paranoid fear of entrenched conspirators (i.e. Novembro), an aesthetic antimaterialism (i.e. Canteca de Macao), a push for economic and cultural autarky (i.e. OqueStrada), and an emphasis on the aesthetic structure of highly charged semiotics--images and symbols with intense emotional impact used as propaganda (i.e. Pony Bravo). However, I contend that totalitarian politics and indie neoflamenco and

neofado music traditions diverge drastically when it comes to the nostalgic *ends* with which they make sense of their seemingly ineffable homesickness and through which they view their relationship to a collective home: "Restorative nostalgia manifests itself in total reconstructions of monuments of the past, while reflective nostalgia lingers on ruins, the patina of time and history, in the dreams of another place and another time" (Boym 41). The means and ends of all of the indie neofado and neoflamenco bands that I interviewed for this study seem antithetical to the restorative nostalgia described by Svetlana Boym. They have no desire to reconstruct flamenco, fado, or the national imagined community as they once were, but to reimagine them as they someday could be: open, inclusive, and progressive. As I explore in Chapter Two, the indie in them pushes for a reflective nostalgia that self-consciously loiters in the ruins of the individual past: the inability to adapt to a sense of communal "normalcy" which they found repulsive, whether it be that of the high school, the workplace, or the neighborhood. The Iberian urban folk music cultures they draw from (originating on the margins, composed by outcasts) permit a reflective nostalgia that allows them to conjure up an imaginary time, place, and community in which they could in fact have belonged. In this way the individual indie misfit is able to nostalgically explore both the reality of rejection within the flotsam of his individual past and the possibility of acceptance amongst the jettisoned cultures of the national past. The reflective nostalgia of indie neoflamenco and neofado hybridity provides a cosmic link for individuals and communities past and present, local and international, which could never quite fit into the confines of "normalcy". The nostalgic form that girds the content of indie neofado and neoflamenco cultural

production is a reflective one which "does not follow a single plot but explores ways of inhabiting many places at once and imagining different time zones" (Boym xviii).

Twenty-First Century International Indie: Challenges and Opportunities

The interviews I conducted in Madrid and Lisbon were, in part, structured so as to ascertain how, in the face of an invasive international (mainstream and indie) music industry which can be characterized by increased homogeneity, the twenty-first-century Spanish and Portuguese indie band expresses itself through a lyrical and musical semiotic distinct to its time and place. Over the course of my fieldwork I came to believe that this attempt at generic and generational expression was most successfully achieved by indie and electronic neofado and neoflamenco bands. As such, I decided to devote the rest of my time in Spain and Portugal to researching this movement within the wider contexts of international indie and hybrid music production in general. One of the ways in which my research differs from prior sociological and ethnomusicological studies conducted on contemporary Iberian cultural production is that I focus on a subculture that is still just beginning. In order to better understand the challenges that the indie neofado and neoflamenco bands analyzed in this study share with the larger international indie scene as a whole, I present below a theoretical framework which I have elaborated based on a few of the disturbing developments I've noticed over the last few years within the internet-infused culture revolving around indie musical creations in general:

1. **The Pitchforkization of the musical palette**—"The Pitchfork music site (www.pitchforkmedia.com) aims to fulfill the old-fashioned roles of tastemaker

and filter for independent and 'alternative' music…it holds a position of genuine authority among its target market, based solely on its track record of being close to the action and describing it well" (D. Jennings 95). The gatekeepers that hold the keys to *global* indie music success form a homogenizing profile (in the synchronic) of the successful musician who must constantly "morph" according to the capricious tastes (in the diachronic) of the embedded music critics making up its pyramid--the peak of which, for over more than a decade, has been pitchfork.com which filters the upward flow of information gleaned from its base: a handful of tastemaker bloggers spread across the country such as Music for Robots (music.for-robots.com), Gorilla vs. Bear (gorillavsbear.net), and Brooklyn Vegan (brooklynvegan.com.) The effect of this phenomenon is implicit throughout this study. If we consider international indie as a species of Benedict Anderson´s imagined community, it should be construed as an affinity group which accepts a sort of oligarchic structure with respect to cultural capital. There is an obvious paradox in this imagined community: although it is primarily comprised of members whose ethnicities are other than Anglo-Saxon and whose mother tongues are other than English, the excluded (or unrepresented) Other is primarily everyone but the Anglophone musician.

2. **Cultural conspicuous consumption**—this is the cultural equivalent of planned obsolescence. An original artist is celebrated by the underground, quickly appropriated by the mainstream, forgotten by the underground, and finally forgotten by the mainstream. He or she is the "Kleenex" that is useful today and

incinerated tomorrow. This could be seen as the product of what David Jennings terms 'diseases of affluence': "with so much readily available entertainment, there's a risk that we become less discerning when we are listening to it and trying it out…the degree of accessibility and choice has arguably led to a rather passive attitude towards music in everyday life" (113-114). I have noticed how the effect of this phenomenon on Minneapolis indie musicians has become increasingly acute from the beginning of the century to the present. There is a tendency toward hedging one´s bets through various side projects. If one of the musician´s bands goes from "Picked to Click" to passé, he or she can always claim to be "truly dedicated from the start" to some as yet obscure musical group.[38] To salvage individual credibility, the indie entrepreneur must be willing to scrap the community as well as the past. This is the antithesis of the authentic indie neofado or neoflamenco philosophy. As we will see throughout this study, these musicians salvage a very problematic cultural past. Their musical references are not just merely passé but have been linked for decades to repressive dictators and regressive cultural politics. We will explore how and why musicians--such as La Shica (Chapter Six) and Paulo Pedro Gonçalves (Chapter Two)--navigate a creative expression via such politically charged musical traditions.

[38] "Picked to Click" is an annual segment put out by the Minneapolis free weekly City Pages. It is meant to highlight the most promising new Minnesotan musical acts. Ironically, it is generally considered the final nail in the coffin for any local band since the majority of judges that vote on the best new acts are old and out of touch with the current underground scene.

3. **Subcultural stillbirth**—the combination of the aforementioned underground and mainstream forces produces an unstable culture. Mainstream access to all cultural creation (mixed with the modern youths' channel-surfing mentality) results in the constant consumerist cycle in which a music fan's interest is piqued by a new product, he then purchases the product, then becomes bored with the product, and repeats the cycle ad infinitum. These cycles are now processed at exponential rates which requires a commodity to always be cutting edge, resulting in corporate interests researching manners to capitalize on a new style or sound. Whereas subcultural style used to evolve over time amongst like-minded individuals, the post-modern subculture is constantly unstable and influx since any divergence from the mainstream or underground norm is immediately rejected as ridiculous or co-opted as brilliant:

> [A]fter punk was plasticized and hip hop lost its impetus for social change, all of the formerly dominant streams of 'counter-culture' have merged together. Now, one mutating, trans-Atlantic melting pot of styles, tastes and behavior has come to define the generally indefinable idea of the 'Hipster.' An artificial appropriation of different styles from different eras, the hipster represents the end of Western civilization – a culture lost in the superficiality of its past and unable to create any new meaning. Not only is it unsustainable, it is suicidal. While previous youth movements have challenged the dysfunction and decadence of their elders, today we have the "hipster" – a youth subculture that mirrors the doomed shallowness of mainstream society. (Haddow 1)

The hipster, for Haddow, represents the antithesis of the subcultural agent. The hipster is superfluous in his cultural and subcultural capital but completely deficient in economic and symbolic capital. The hipster has neither the creative force nor the economic wherewithal to convert this surfeit of cultural capital into something meaningful. He

invests all of his resources into jockeying for a position as cultural gatekeeper. Whether his collective audience implicitly grants him this title or not, he continues to exercise the duties of this role: to shine a light (before anyone else does) on the new and unique. The present-day surplus of the uncreative hipster means that virtually everyone and no one is a tastemaker. Any individual creative divergence from the collective indie norm will immediately catch the attention of the omnipresent hipster who will sound the alarm for all others to see and hear. This is, after all, the only means by which the hipster can accrue subcultural capital. This kind of instant attention on artistic outlier affinity groups necessarily means that such a group must dissolve or be incorporated into the collective hipster discourse. Once integrated, the megacorporate machinery which feeds off of hipster hype (gleaning information via gatekeepers who double as brand image consultants) immediately commodifies any sellable element of the subculture. Without a sufficient incubation period, in which a group on the margins can foster growth in membership and ideological or stylistic development, any community that finds unity within specific, shared, cultural affiliations will be immediately smothered by hipster, then commercial, then political exploitation before it can ever realize its true potential.

These trends have produced an unstable environment for many artists but seem to have their deepest global impact on the independent musician. So the question remains: is it even possible to sustain a practice such as that of indie neoflamenco or neofado over a period long enough for it to take hold within Spain or Portugal as a certifiable indigenous subcultural movement (not to mention its chances of success on a global scale)? All of these destabilizing elements have affected in some way or other every

international indie music actor. The question for the musicians studied here is to what degree? Does the pitchforkization of the musical palette, general conspicuous cultural consumption, and subcultural stillbirth represent a major preoccupation for these neoflamenco and neofado composers? Or are they creating so far under the international indie radar that they currently enjoy a sort of incubation period in which they are protected from the cruel penetration of the international indie machine? I believe it depends on the national and international renown of the band in question. For instance, if we consider a highly talented but relatively obscure example from the bands that make up the neoflamenco/neofado scenes--such as the Parisian-based electronic neoflamenco group, El Ultimo Grito, the answer is yes and no. Yes because Pitchfork et al, and thus their followers in turn, have had little to no interest in this kind of music. This naturally precludes El Ultimo Grito from suffering the fate wrought by the international Kleenex culture given that a band must first have a certain degree of extractable cultural capital for it to pass from a state of usefulness to uselessness. The answer is no with respect to subcultural stillbirth because El Ultimo Grito seems to successfully function under both the indie and the flamenco radar. They take an unorthodox approach to preserving the purity of flamenco expression, as well as a completely unmarketable approach toward achieving global indie success. In so doing, they capture the original essence and authenticity of both musical genres. The equations changes however if we consider a group like the Portuguese neofado four-piece Deolinda, arguably the most successful Portuguese pop export since Madredeus. Deolinda enjoyed sufficient Portuguese fan support following the release of *Canção ao lado* (2008) to catch major label attention.

EMI Portugal signed Deolinda before their 2010 album *Dois selos e um carimbo*. Both albums have since gone double platinum in Portugal.[39] Successful album sales and EMI support have afforded Deolinda the opportunity to tour several major cities in the U.S. during the Fall of 2012. If one of Pitchfork´s contributors caught a live Deolinda show and chose to write about it favorably, the wave of attention on the band would most certainly spill over to affiliated neofado groups such as A Naifa or OqueStrada. Nevertheless, the benefit to Portuguese neofado groups in general would undoubtedly be short-lived. For many Pitchfork followers the entire scene would be of interest in so far as it supplied a ready stream of exotic cultural capital. Given the limited population comprising the indie neofado scene, this stream would quickly dry out. The subculture, however, could survive nationally provided the Portuguese fan does not associate affiliation with such a group with a loss of cultural capital.[40] The indie neofado and neoflamenco case studies I present in the following chapters function to highlight a few of the major players in this minor field while introducing what these musicians perceive to be their biggest challenges and opportunities—from the creative claustrophobia which Pony Bravo mentions above to the recent global economic collapse that has left many indie musicians across Spain and Portugal without the financial support of EU/national/regional/local governments, corporations, and fans to which they had become accustomed during the Iberian heyday of the easy-credit *noughties*.[41]

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[39] In Portugal the status of double platinum (a *galardão dupla- platina*) is granted after album sales exceed 40,000 copies.

[40] Or if said fan is unconcerned with cultural capital and simply enjoys certain neofado bands´music and performance.

[41] The noughties is a neologism created during (and used to reference) the first decade of the twenty-first century. The term is derived from nought, a word used for zero in many English-speaking countries. The

Hybridity

I will be investigating throughout this dissertation the phenomenon of hybridity as seen in twentieth- and twenty-first-century Iberian musical creations. My hope is that the results of my research will engage in a dialogue with historical and current studies dealing with globalization, transculturation, and hybridity. Global culture today is constantly engaged in the mixing and remixing of heterogeneous elements, producing new forms and contents that evidence the positive aspects of these international networks. Prior utopian or dystopian notions of globalization are becoming increasingly outdated.[42] Russian literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) and Indian Postcolonial critic Homi Bhaba (1994) helped pave the way for cultural studies research on hybridity by dislocating the concept from its origins in the biological domain of miscegenation to the cultural field of power. Marwan M. Kraidy (2005) furthered their work in his attempt to distinguish corporate from critical transculturalism.[43] Kraidy offers a useful guide for analyzing the historical landscape of hybridity via a study on the way it has been conceptualized within cultural and postcolonial studies. His sweeping research on the use of the concept of cultural mixture from the first century CE to the present informs his various arguments on the significance of the dynamics of politics, economics,

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first decade of the twentieth century is generally referred to as the aughts. Choosing the term noughties instead of the noughts or the aughts (which both mean the zeros) to refer to the decade could be considered a historiographical wink insinuating a certain general decline in Western values.

[42] The utopian is exemplified by French Enlightenment notions of a universal civilization which is mutually interested in material progress, international human rights, and scientific rationalism; the dystopian by Romantic German notions of authentic national cultures threatened by the spread of soulless global forms (Kraidy 45).

[43] Kraidy draws a contrast between the two concepts by first exploring "the rhetorical claims of corporate transculturalism elaborated in (mostly) U.S. public discourse, including its advocacy of free trade, individual consumerism, and reduction of culture to economic variables," (151) and the importance of the relationship between hybridity and individual agency inherent within the notion of critical transculturalism.

communication, power, and culture as interconnected actors within the sphere of hybridity. For Kraidy, the consideration of individual agency is key for contemporary hybrid theory:

> People's identities may be refracted through individual consumption, cultural and otherwise, but consumption alone is not tantamount to being. Hybridity theory, and cultural theory at large, cannot consider people merely as individuals who constantly recreate themselves by way of consumption. Rather, agency must be grasped in terms of people's ability to accomplish things in the world they inhabit. If culture represents the meanings, ways of action, and ways to evaluate the value of actions in a society, and if cultural hybridity entails a change in those meanings and actions, then attention ought to be paid to hybridity's ability or inability to empower social groups to have influence over the course of their lives. (151)

Kraidy is interested in the individual's intentionality with respect to their hybrid creations as actors whose work is informed and influenced by structural and discursive forces. This study focuses on the individual and group consumption and production of international and local culture as a means to explore the way cultural hybridity has empowered these bands. The case studies included throughout the following chapters are informed in part by Kraidy's notions on critical transculturalism and glocalization.

The complex nature of hybrid cultural studies that incorporate perspectives of and on the individual actor as well as analysis of the multifaceted network within which he works requires a theoretical framework that can take into account the fluidity and interconnectedness of the primary forces involved. Arjun Appadurai presents one possible way of unwinding the knots that underlie particular hybrid cultural creations--highlighting the forces which help shape the form and content of such production. Appadurai developed a five-dimensional concept of the global cultural economy composed of *ethnoscapes*, *technoscapes*, *finanscapes*, *mediascapes*, and *ideoscapes*.

Appadurai juxtaposes international cultural absorption (the fear of Japanization vs. Americanization for the Koreans, is one of his examples) with 'intra-national' hegemony (i.e. nation-state hegemonic strategies vs. global commoditization). He states that "the new global cultural economy has to be seen as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order that cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing center-periphery models…The complexity of the current global economy has to do with certain fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture, and politics that we have only begun to theorize" (32-33).[44] Appadurai proposes a framework for exploring such disjunctures: five dimensions of global cultural flow as the building blocks of what he terms "imagined worlds":

> These terms…are not objectively given relations that look the same from every angle of vision but, rather, that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities, as well as subnational groupings and movements (whether religious, political, or economic), and even intimate face-to-face groups, such as villages, neighborhoods, and families. (33)

The clash between Iberian governments and bands (as well as their fans) is analyzed in Chapter Five vis-à-vis several of Appadurai´s scapes. Appadurai´s *ethnoscapes* refer to the migration of people across cultures and borders, presenting a fluid and mobile collection of world communities. These are "tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals [who] affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree" (33). His financescapes are representations of the rapid flow of global capital (34). The author defines *ideoscapes* as

[44] Appadurai´s model is different from earlier center-periphery models in its in-depth exploration of the instability inherent in the production of modern subjectivities as deterritorialized citizens of the periphery living in the center (as well as those originating in the center who now inhabit the periphery) consume and experience goods and services emanating from both the center and periphery just as they produce goods and services for one or both spheres.

chains of images, often directly political, which frequently "have to do with the ideologies of states and the counter-ideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a piece of it" (36). Appadurai explores what he refers to as *technoscapes* within "the global configuration…of technology, and the fact that technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries" (34).[45] Appadurai´s *mediascapes* represent "the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television stations, and film production studios), which are now available to a growing number of private and public interests throughout the world, and to the images of the world created by these media (35). Chapter Five´s analysis of the battle of Spanish neoflamenco bands and fans with such public and private actors as the international major record labels, the national government, and the SGAE over free culture, media piracy legislation, and licensing issues is just one example of the myriad battles fought within Appadurai's scapes. Several other issues explored throughout this book which highlight the struggles between these protagonists can be observed via the lens of the international and intra-national hegemonic conflicts that are determined at various micro and macro levels: the street corner, the record store shelf, the live show, the courthouse, the Assembleia da República, etc.

[45] Iberian *technoscapes* are prevalent throughout this study but are most evident in the Chapter Five section on media piracy and the Chapter Four analysis of the fortuitous clash of analog and digital which resulted in M-Pex´s unique musical hybrid of fado with dubstep.

I also engage (in Chapter Five) Appadurai's analysis of the various scapes underlying the production of locality via a consideration of the respective responsibilities of local urban Spanish and Portuguese bands, governments, and companies to foster a sense of communal unanimity and identity. Groups such as the neofado band OqueStrada voice their concern as to the seeming lack of interest among municipal politicians and corporate executives to support the reproduction of local knowledge which Appadurai would consider necessary to sustain the microhabitus which underlies the macroidentity of a constantly evolving sense of Portugueseness.

> As local subjects carry on the continuing task of reproducing their neighborhood, the contingencies of history, environment, and imagination contain the potential for new contexts (material, social, and imaginative) to be produced. In this way, through the vagaries of social action by local subjects, neighborhood as context produces the context of neighborhoods. Over time, this dialectic changes the conditions of the production of locality as such. (Appadurai 185)

What Appadurai underscores here is the reproductive practice, on the level of the neighborhood, of what Pierre Bourdieu refers to as habitus.[46] The habitus represents the entirety of an individual's socially learned dispositions, unconscious mannerisms, skills, etc., which are acquired experientially on a daily basis. Appadurai posits that the neighborhood inherits and develops its own communal habitus. A communal habitus is far more unstable than that of the individual habitus in that it evolves according to the

[46] The concept of habitus was not an invention of Pierre Bourdieu, but rather dates back to Aristotle (which he termed *hexis*--translated in modern texts as state or disposition). In contemporary usage, the term itself was coined by Marcel Mauss (1936). Bourdieu reinterpreted Mauss´s notion of habitus by elaborating on its relation to history and human memory. Due to their conceptual similarity, I will occasionally employ Harris M. Berger´s notion of stance (2009) as a synonym for habitus: "the complex gestalt of the valual qualities of the immediate situation and the overall stance with which all of this is laid out in lived consciousness, sets the larger valual environment for our experience at any moment…The act of grasping the guitar neck with heavy metal rage or righteous, pacifistic fervor may be shaped by the retention of a thousand days working in a dead-end service-sector job, or, in a different context, the protention of a thousand nights spent fighting in a Southeast Asian jungle" (93-95). See Chapter Two for a more thorough discussion of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus.

varying dispositions of a constantly changing population of local and deterritorialized citizens. As Appadurai points out, both groups constantly consume a vast variety of goods and services in the guise of technology, media, ideas and ideology, etc. which are produced from within and without the neighborhood, city, and nation, further complicating the communal habitus.

The morphing communal habitus is simultaneously the cause and effect of hybrid cultural production. Deeply engrained local traditions clash and combine with those customs accompanying the newly arrived immigrant families. The end result of this local with immigrant cultural collision is, of course, not always some fascinating hybrid cultural production. As we have seen in the example provided above of "Paki-bashing" skinheads, the final outcome can be violent and destructive instead of peaceful and productive. Furthermore, hybrid culture can also be produced as a reaction *against* unwanted transformations within the communal habitus. The local knowledge underpinning the collective habitus of the *alfacinha* imagined community, for instance, is currently being undermined by various external forces against which neofadistas like Marta Miranda (founder and voice of OqueStrada) are struggling with little municipal governmental or local corporate support.[47] While Miranda celebrates the constant transformation of the communal habitus (as a product of immigration to Lisbon and her neighborhood in Almada) she protests the communal changes brought about by agents external to the community itself--specifically the multinational corporation.

[47] The residents of Lisbon are affectionately known as *alfacinhas,* or little lettuces. Supposedly the term is derived from the historical abundance of the vegetable in the areas surrounding the Portuguese capital.

A Case Study for Wolfgang Holzinger's Typology of Hybrid Forms

A core concern underlying the fieldwork I performed for this study revolved around the following question: How does one draw a circle around such an amorphous group of talented hybrid musicians in order to highlight a sense of stylistic coherence and connectedness as a specific practice? I do not wish to negate the purpose and contribution of the Iberian bands I exclude from this study. The bands I analyze in the following chapters do not represent the entirety of the contemporary neoflamenco and neofado scene, and make up just a sliver of Iberian hybrid music. I have chosen the groups included in this study due to their relation to certain issues that I wish to explore (indie and indie electronic Iberian urban neofolk, subcultural tension, cultural hybridity, twenty-first-century Iberian political engagement, etc.) I refer to these music scenes as neoflamenco and neofado not to impose my own aesthetic opinions on the hybrid creations of the bands that make up these scenes, but to help distinguish what these groups are doing and where they are coming from.

Wolfgang Holzinger's contribution toward a typology of hybrid forms is a useful starting point to consider the various ways that bands such as the ones involved in this book can be interpreted as hybrid music creators. In order to create an adequate terminology, Holzinger provides us with five distinct "categories/types" of hybridity which he defines in detail: "(1) 'combination', (2) 'melange', (3) 'coalescence', (4) 'unification', and (5) 'emergence'" (262). Holzinger defines combination as the incorporation of one style into that of one or more other styles. The preponderance of any given style can be determined hierarchically respective to the other styles with which

it is combined as dominant, subordinate, or equal. Holzinger describes melange as a hybrid music in which experts differ as to which music traditions the individual pieces primarily belong to. Coalescence is a phenomenon in which the combined styles are impossible to discern without the composer´s explanation. Unification can be illustrated by the present-day perception of flamenco as stylistically pure even though it originally was a hybrid music composed of various styles. Time is the most important factor in the case of unification given that, typically, as a hybrid music practice is passed down from generation to generation it progressively loses its hybrid status and gains a perceived ontological purity which it never in fact had. The final category Holzinger refers to is emergence--a hybrid creation characterized by the innovative musician who tries to start anew by leaving behind all traditional practice, composing a radically novel music based off of compositional principles outside of current and historical musical reality (Holzinger 270-277).[48] Holzinger decided to create a set of hybrid style classifications as a result of his dissatisfaction with the inappropriate and unspecific term used by most musicologists to describe nearly all hybrid music forms: fusion.

> Although we are-or should be-aware of the fact that 'fusion' originally referred to physical, chemical, or metallurgical processes, we accept the use of this word and its semantic background in the discourse on hybrid music without hesitation. This

[48] This final hybrid type seemed a bit fantastical and impossible to me. Indeed Holzinger himself does not ascribe wholesale to his own concept of emergence: "it is implicit in the scientific concept that a musical revolutionary is intimately acquainted with traditional forms and styles. Hence [even] the most radical innovations—erroneously conceptualized by the idea of a substantial ´break´ with musical tradition—can be viewed merely as the continuation of tradition, but as a continuation brought about by different means" (277-278). That said, the watering down of such a sublime, revolutionary hybrid type leaves the reader to wonder why Holzinger included it at all. According to Holzinger, emergence is both a radically novel music based off of compositional principles outside of current and historical musical reality as well as it is merely the continuation of tradition. Furthermore, I wonder how emergent music could be hybrid at all as it, instead of drawing from two or more already existing traditions, is supposedly derived by the composer from nothing but the ether.

> negligent acceptance is dangerous, since it leads to false notions about the character of 'fusions' in music…Even if we might initially have stressed its metaphoric character, with time we automatically get into the habit of using the term in a literal, non-metaphoric way. This tendency deprives us of adequate interpretation by treating all musical 'fusions' as real fusions. But *real* fusion is the privilege of other processes, such as those occurring in the sphere of atomic processes. Unlike fusion there, a metaphoric fusion only *combines* several 'nuclei', as it were. Why? Because the elements involved can easily be identified as they *maintain* their state in the new structure. It is important to emphasize this, for there *are* cases even in the musical sphere where the new structure changes their state so that their identification is either impossible or very difficult. If that is the case, we believe that we are permitted to use the term 'fusion' in its literal sense, since in the new structure the elements have lost their initial existence. But does resemblance to physical transformations justify the compliance with that permission? I do not think it does. (263 all italics in original)

Holzinger uses the concept of flamenco fusion to show that if any such New Flamenco can be identified in some way as flamenco, then it is not a true fusion since it has not actually lost the very characteristics that would allow it to be perceived as a new entity. I agree with Holzinger´s stance on the need for musicologists, music critics, etc. who reference hybrid musics to rid themselves of the inaccurate and insufficient term ´fusion´. The scholar in this field must be more accurate when specifying the kind of hybridity they are dealing with. This is not to say that musicologists in general are oblivious to the ways in which one song may dialogue with another. Musicologists often engage lyrical intertextuality and sonic samples as references to other musical compositions. However (as Holzinger emphasizes in the above quote), there is a lack of appropriate vocabulary with which to adequately define the means and ends of such dialogue when it comes to hybrid musical creation.

That said, during my fieldwork, I found precious few examples of musical hybridity that could be designated as other than what Holzinger would term "style-combination." This may have to do more with the inherent qualities of the hybrid types than the creative innovation in Iberian urban neofolk. For instance, none of the present-day neofado or neoflamenco groups could fall under Holzinger's unification type because the category necessarily requires the passage of a great deal of time for a hybrid music to evolve into a genre which the average listener (in ignorance) perceives as pure. Fado and flamenco, as well as the *modinha*, the *lumbada*, the *zarzuela*, the *copla*, the *pasodoble*, etc., are all to a degree hybrid types of unification. And yet, they cannot wholly be defined as such because, whereas most people would unknowingly consider them as pure, there simultaneously exists a great many people who still today maintain that they are not. The category which Holzinger defines as melange carries with it its own complications. To begin with, for me to place a band or song in this category assumes that *I* am what Holzinger would refer to as a music expert. I don't know that I am, even with respect to indie neoflamenco or neofado. Even if I were, I would need to find another similarly trained music expert with which to disagree as to which musical traditions the individual pieces of said band's hybrid songs primarily belong to. Finding an emergence hybrid type seems to be as mystical an experience as encountering a unicorn, and yet far more difficult to notice, as it is inherently unidentifiable as a musical fusion since it seemingly references no heretofore known musical canon or practice. Which leaves coalescence. This category is far and away the most intriguing for me since it requires the musician to hide and to reveal. Like a magician, the musician seems

to pull a dove out of nowhere. Unlike the magician, the musician will occasionally reveal his secrets—a code to decipher the hybrid enigma. The indie neofado hybrid band Dead Combo serves below as a case study in this category.

Dead Combo´s Coalescent Hybridity

Fig. 1. Dead Combo from left to right: Pedro Gonçalves and Tó Trips. Photograph by Catarina Limão, 03 December 2011, from Flickr Creative Commons, 05 June 2013.

Table 1
Dead Combo: Members, Dates, Places, Albums, Sub-Genres, and Influences

Band Name (Location, Year Formed)	Members (Instruments)	Albums (Label, Year Published)	Sub-Genres	Primary Influences
Dead Combo (Lisbon, 2002)	Tó Trips (guitar), and Pedro Gonçalves (upright bass, kazoo, melodica, guitars)	*Vol. I* (Transformadores, 2004)*; Vol. II - Quando a Alma não é Pequena* (Dead & Company/ Universal Portugal, 2006)*; Guitars From Nothing* (Rastilho Records, 2007)*; Lusitânia Playboys* (Dead & Company/Universal Music Portugal, 2008)*; Lisboa Mulata* (Universal Music Portugal, 2011)	Spaghetti Western, Fado, Jazz, Avant-Garde, Blues, Apocalyptic Folk	Ennio Morricone, Carlos Paredes, Queens of the Stone Age, Howe Gelb, Marc Ribot, Kid "Congo" Powers, Calexico, Maria Severa

Dead Combo is a Lisbon-based instrumental duo formed in 2002 following an invitation by the Portuguese National Public Radio DJ Henrique Amaro to local indie musician Tó Trips to contribute a track for a tribute album in honor of the late Portuguese guitar icon, Carlos Paredes.[49] The genesis of the band begins with this invitation by Amaro and the subsequent casual reencounter of two old friends at a Howe Gelb show. After attending the show, Trips tried to hitch a ride from Pedro Gonçalves, a friend from his high school days at the Escola Secundária D. Pedro V in Lisbon. Pedro didn´t have a car either so they decided to walk and talk. On the way, Trips talked about the invitation from Amaro and asked Gonçalves if he would be interested in working with him on a Paredes track. Gonçalves accepted the offer, and they began work on what would become the first Dead Combo song titled "Paredes ambience." The song was included on the Paredes tribute album, *Movimentos Perpétuos,* released in 2003 by Universal Music Portugal. The duo has since produced five albums (with collaborations including the

[49] Rádio e Televisão de Portugal, S.A., commonly known as RTP. Carlos Paredes was an accomplished Coimbra-born Portuguese guitarist virtuoso whose compositions defied the classic stylistic dichotomies of Coimbra vs. Lisbon Portuguese guitar, integrating elements of both while creating something altogether different. Carlos received the nickname "O homem dos mil dedos" (The thousand-fingered man) due to his seemingly impossible speed, dexterity, and accuracy as a live performer. See "Canto do amanhecer", for just one example of Paredes speed and grace. Carlos´s father, Artur Paredes, was also an influential figure amongst early twentieth-century Coimbra Portuguese guitarists. Carlos´s grandfather, Gonçalo Paredes, was also a Coimbra Portuguese guitarist. Gonçalo Paredes has been credited with various compositions on the Coimbra Portuguese guitar as well as for being one member of the movement to establish the Coimbra guitar style as distinct from that of the Lisbon version. This was an initial remove of the Coimbra guitar from the world of Lisbon fado which Artur would push further as a prolific composer. Carlos carried forward the work of his father and grandfather by establishing both styles of the Portuguese guitar as instruments that need no accompaniment.
Paredes was imprisoned by the Salazar regime during the late 1950s after being accused of participating in the Portuguese Communist Party. An oft-told anecdote from that time period was that Paredes, deprived of his guitar, would pace back and forth in his jail cell picking at an imaginary Portuguese guitar. Although the other inmates thought he was crazy, Paredes was actually able to compose new material this way, so ingrained in his psyche was the relationship between Portuguese guitar touch and sound. While in Lisbon I practiced several of Carlos Paredes´s compositions many times a day. I can perform them now, but only if I cut the beats per measure by at least a fourth.

underground cult icon Kid Congo Powers) and a live DVD with the backing band with which they perform under the name Dead Combo & Royal Orquestra das Caveiras.[50]

Much of the international and national press refers to Dead Combo´s music as a blend of fado and spaghetti western.[51] Trips and Gonçalves addressed the generic attribution of fado in an interview I conducted with them at the bar-café Fábulas in the Lisbon district of Bairro Alto:

> **Michael Arnold (MA):** Does your music derive from fado influences?
>
> **Pedro Gonçalves (PG):** I wouldn´t say fado. It´s like the only thing we ever think about when we do a record--when we compose--is we have to have something that, when you hear it, it sounds Portuguese. But it´s not directly related to fado. It could be a rhythm, or a melody, or a harmony…
>
> **MA:** The imagery is interesting. I read an article that mentioned some of the reference points of your music saying: "Remete…para a Lisboa vadia de "playboys e ancas jeitosas, de marinheiros e oficiais despenteados" (It references…the vagabond Lisbon of playboys and swinging hips, of sailors and unkempt officers). Would you say your music refers to that more dangerous, shifty era of fado music, before it was co-opted in the latter part of the 1800s--that is, the epoch of Maria Severa, brothels, and booze?
>
> **Tó Trips (TT):** Yeah the streets, the *navalha* (razor).
>
> **PG:** That is something that is closer to us than the Lisbon nowadays.
>
> **TT:** Yeah, the antique Lisbon. The tropical Lisbon, the palm trees, the African influence. It´s like tropical--like lusotropicalismo? Yeah, but not so groove-oriented, more rough. If you see the antique post cards--images of Lisbon, the people live in small streets; don't have shoes--this kind of ambience. Imagine once upon a time in America but in Lisbon…
>
> **PG:** Dark, spooky, mysterious images.

[50] Kid Congo Powers (aka Brian Tristan) is an American rock guitarist and singer, best known for his distinctive contributions to a variety of the indie and underground scene´s most influential bands: The Gun Club, The Cramps, and Nick Cave and the Bad Seeds.

[51] Spaghetti Western is a music associated with the compositions of Ennio Morricone for several successful Western movies directed by Sergio Leone. This subgenre of the Western film was termed ´Spaghetti´ Western due to the fact that most of them were produced and directed by Italians.

TT: In old Lisbon the only guys who would have tattoos would be the fadistas, sailors, prostitutes--these kinds of people.

PG: It's kind of like they were the outlaws. The players were like pimps, the singers… prostitutes.

MA: So why this interest in the bandit culture?

PG: For me it came in a strong way when we worked with this film director Edgar Pêra. He did a lot of work on creating the concept of the Fado Western. He was the inventor of that imagery. We have a show called *Sudoeste* [1987]. It's like a western set in Bairro Alto. He is a pretty underground filmmaker, one of the most important here…

MA: I read that "Cuba 1970" was like a fado habanera.[52] People use fado a lot as a reference for your music. Why do you think that is?

TT: Because if you talk about Portuguese music, in the world everybody first thinks fado.

PG: Yeah but with that song, when the record was ready we sent it to Howe Gelb. He said that the tune sounded a lot like Calexico. And I thought 'yeah, sure.' I think Portuguese people will probably say it´s fado something, but if you showed it to someone from Bali they would say this sounds like something from Bali.

Tó Trips and Pedro Gonçalves often negate the generic qualities of fado that have so often been attributed to the Dead Combo sound by Portuguese journalists. Nevertheless, the instrumental duo seem to represent a core underlying concern of my fieldwork, namely: how does one conceptualize and organize the sociological and musicological borders that define a cohesive movement which is composed of so many disparate parts, controlled by a very diverse group of individual actors, each with their own agenda?

Holzinger´s typology of hybrid forms is a potential tool for interpreting and organizing the musical production characterized by varying levels of complex generic and cultural combinations. Two of Holzinger´s forms, mélange and coalescence, require musicological expertise to parse out stylistic origins of any given hybrid music. The

[52] A track from Dead Combo's 2008 release *Lusitânia Playboys*.

hybrid type Holzinger terms style-coalescence is the most complicated to discern and normally can only be determined after the genesis of the composition in question is revealed by the creator: "Contrary to 'fusion', 'coalescence' recalls the process a composer has passed through in order to find a definite form that resists being easily, i.e. immediately, identified as hybrid" (Holzinger 278). During my interview with Dead Combo, I asked Trips where the unusual sound they had developed came from in order to see if he would reveal the genesis of this hybrid sound, just as Holzinger describes as necessary in cases of 'coalesced' music. Trips explained how, while working on the tribute tune that Henrique Amaro had assigned him for the aforementioned album *Movimentos Perpétuos*, he decided to look for inspiration via altering the listening experience: "There is a song by Carlos Paredes called ´Verdes Anos.´ If you whistle the tune slowly it´s like a Western. If you put the song into the computer and slow it down you can imagine a Western" (Trips). Trips describes here the sonic origins of the very first track that the duo produced, which proved to be the launching point of much of the sound and image that the band would utilize for their subsequent albums, performances, and artwork. He lists Paredes and Ennio Morricone amongst his primary influences. However, only the influence of Morricone, the composer behind the scores for many of the Spaghetti Western films directed by Sergio Leone, seems obvious when you listen to the band's musical production and see their live performances. The foundation of the band's sound (a sound they would return to continuously throughout their prolific output thus far), however, can be better interpreted as an attempt at searching for sonic links between the genius guitarwork of Carlos Paredes and the dark musical styling of Ennio

Morricone. Seeking out similar aesthetic commonalities amongst international and national musical traditions was one of the major preoccupations of several of the urban neofolk bands that I interviewed in Spain and Portugal.

We can thus consider the musical creation of Dead Combo as a coalescent hybrid form blending the Coimbra fado of Carlos Paredes with the Spaghetti Western compositions of Ennio Morricone. Nevertheless, Paredes´s position within the world of fado was always tenuous at best. In an interview I conducted with Henrique Amaro, the man behind the album that would help motivate the Dead Combo sound, the RTP DJ described Paredes's determination to separate the Portuguese guitar from fado:

> O Carlos Paredes é um músico emblemático, simbólico que faz parte da história da música portuguesa quase ao lado da Amália. E o que ele tentou ao longo da sua vida fazer foi garantir que a guitarra portuguesa tivesse uma vida aparte do fado. Portanto, ele construiu um repertório para a guitarra portuguesa não como acompanhante do fado, mas como repertório para a guitarra portuguesa elemento só. (Amaro)
>
> (Carlos Paredes is an emblematic musician, a symbolic part of the history of Portuguese music, almost on the level of Amália. What he attempted to do throughout his life was to ensure that the Portuguese guitar had a life apart from fado. To achieve this, he built a repertoire for the Portuguese guitar not as an accompaniment to fado, but as a solo instrument.)

Nevertheless, when I asked Amaro why it was then that so many people refer to Dead Combo as fado-spaghetti western he replied, "Sim, eu acho que é como o hip hop dos Beastie Boys. Os Beastie Boys têm um pouco de hip hop, mas não é uma banda de hip hop. O Dead Combo têm fado, mas não é um grupo de fado" (Yes, I think it is kind of like the use of hip hop by the Beastie Boys. The Beastie Boys have a bit of hip hop, but it is not a hip hop band. Dead Combo has fado, but it is not a fado group). Amaro compares the fado of Dead Combo with the hip hop of the Beastie Boys, insinuating in

the interview a sort of social designation for fado-- in the same way that the generic designation "roots" functions in the United States. The social designation serves to invoke a time and place and community, more than a coherent set of sound traits.

Dead Combo was not the only group that seemed to be arbitrarily assigned fado as part of a sonic descriptor. Several of the bands that I encountered throughout my fieldwork were, for reasons still inconceivable to me, donned (or donned themselves with) this generic designator. Much of my time in Lisbon was spent pouring through lyrics and listening to a seemingly endless array of songs composed by such bands, looking for possible connections, only to come up completely empty-handed. In many cases it seemed to be just a marketing ploy. Dead Combo, however, didn't appear to be interested in marketing. They constantly play down their connection to fado, but the imagery they develop represents the very origins of the Lisbon fado. All of the Dead Combo live shows I attended included a deliberate semiotic of death and danger. For live performances the duo take on the personages of a mafioso (Gonçalves) and an undertaker (Trips), protagonists of the old mid-nineteenth century underbelly labyrinths of Alfama and Mouraria. It seemed as if they were almost always reaching back, nostalgically, to a time when fado was the occupation of the malignant dregs of Lisbon outlaws, prostitutes, pimps, misfits, gangsters, drifters, and hardened sailors. But the theatricality of it all produced the effect of distance, as if one could watch this intriguing display of deviance through a lens of safety. Dead Combo's live shows are akin to watching a Tim Burton reproduction of this lost era of Lisbon lawlessness. Intentionally or unintentionally, they evoke a sense of borrowed *saudade*, allowing the twenty-first-century Portuguese

audience to look back to a world they had never themselves lost--and crave it. Dead Combo seems to perform the impossible: to give fado the semblance of danger again by allowing the audience to safely peer into the nineteenth-century dark-lit Alfama alleyways and taverns, populated as they often were with knife-wielding thugs, pimps, and vagabonds. Dead Combo give fado an allure to a crowd that grew up always associating this music tradition with the conservative, the boring, the stale, the vapid tourist, and the old regime.[53]

Similar to what Carlos Paredes did with the Portuguese guitar, Dead Combo is creating a new audience for an unlikely instrument.[54] In Dead Combo´s case the instrument was the lost voice of fado itself. Paredes always separated himself from the Coimbra fado traditions of the great Portuguese guitarists (such as his own father Artur

[53] In this way, Dead Combo does for Paredes´s guitar-centric Coimbra fado what Paulo Bragança would later do for Lisbon fado vocal performance (I address Bragança´s "punk fadista" style in the following chapter). They take the rapid transcendent shimmer of Paredes´s guitarwork into a new world, slowing it down, jazzing it up, and codifying it for a new generation via new signification. Paredes´s guitar seemed to constantly chime out the complex process involved in renovating the Portuguese soul: when melancholic (i.e. "Verdes Anos") it draws the listener hypnotically into a Portuguese past in which life is repetitively poetic in its backward drudgery, like a clock that ticks rhythmically with each passing second without the minute hand ever going forward. Even when uplifting (i.e. "Canto do Rio") Paredes´s guitar is viscerally lachrymose as it constantly descends, yet it is frustratingly brief and ephemeral as it momentarily ascends, returning to the first chord before cascading back down again. Dead Combo´s musical signs frequently reference Paredes´s emotionally chaotic compositions through minimalist juxtapositions often combining Trip´s bright meandering electric guitar tones with Gonçalves´s dark and menacing bass walks. Trips also reverses roles with Gonçalves from time to time performing cacophony and chaos to an anchored bass rhythm. Extra instruments and sounds are added in certain tracks to heighten the effect of the Paredes´s ambiance. The Dead Combo song "Mr. Leone," intersperses the soothing tones of a man at rest whistling lazily with an electric guitar that consistently only accents the whistler´s minor tones. Likewise, on "Old Rock´n´Roll radio" a cat´s annoyed screech blends with a theramin, sci-fi sound effects, Marc Ribot-like angular guitar riffs, tremolo-heavy surf guitar strumming, rapid-moving drums, and jazz bass scales which disorient the listener by creating cognitive dissonance via sound-images that reference the real and the imaginary, the local and the foreign, the animal and the human, the past and the present, etc.

[54] "[Carlos Paredes] dá uma nova dimensão à guitarra portuguesa, criando e executando peças de rara beleza e de uma técnica excepcional. A ele se deve a universalização da guitarra portuguesa e a sua música vem estimular toda uma nova geração" (Pracana 25) ([Carlos Paredes] gave a new dimension to the Portuguese guitar, creating and executing compositions of rare beauty and exceptional technique. Because of him the Portuguese guitar was universalized; his music would go on to influence an entire new generation).

Paredes), but, in so doing, he created a space for those of his generation to voice their rebellious spirit in a distinctly Portuguese manner.[55] Likewise, Dead Combo, without employing a single lyric, spoke to a defiant, disenchanted, melancholic malaise that seemed to saturate the city during my time there.[56] The musical dynamics the band employs balance occasional tranquil rhythms and melodic guitar with cacophonous distortion and primal beats. During one live show I watched the band perform the song "Mr. Eastwood": The undertaker allows his guitar to slowly hum to the mafioso´s slow jazz chord progressions--nearly lulling the audience to sleep--allowing for a proper jolt when Trips suddenly hammers out his spastic feedback-laden guitar, cutting the audience with a sonic razor. Dead Combo, like Paredes before them, provide their audience with a distinctly Portuguese cathartic experience, through musical and visual symbols alone--symbols that evoke, without invoking, a nationally shared fado sentiment. Trips flips a Euro (or Escudo?) coin into the air to signal the end of the intensely chaotic "Mr. Eastwood." The reverberating echo sounds after the coin cracks against the backside of his semi-hollow body. Is it heads or tails? Is it fado or is it other? Regardless, the coin, the chance, the enigma of it all is a symbolic reminder of the fate--the *fado*--which the group had been toying with all along.

[55] See the 1962 film *Os Verdes Anos* by Paulo Rocha.

[56] Perhaps this malaise can be attributed to the looming economic crisis that seemed to always pepper the conversations of Lisbon musicians I interviewed. Whereas, in Madrid, a musician who enjoyed employment outside of the music industry could count on a monthly wage of around 1,000 Euros, his Portuguese counterpart earned approximately 500 Euros. The cost of living in Lisbon is not significantly lower than that of Madrid since the common currency has a relatively stable purchasing price parity across the European Union. So the Portuguese musician is forced to get by on roughly half the money of the Spanish musician. This knowledge of comparatively inadequate compensation for Lisbon citizens was additionally exacerbated by constant talk of externally imposed austerity measures which promised to cut any number of social services benefits that the Portuguese musician had previously relied upon.

Chapter Outline

This book attempts to engage current dialogues on hybridity, glocalization, subcultural subversion, indie pastiche, habitus, and cultural capital via the faint trace of the individual and collective agency behind two emerging twenty-first-century Iberian subgenres: neoflamenco and neofado. The work of producing, reproducing, and challenging local knowledge is a critical concern of the bands involved in indie and electronic neoflamenco and neofado. Their task is not easy: They are the torch bearers of a historical patrimony that is increasingly obsolete to a generation that is increasingly ambivalent. Yet hope springs eternal in the hearts and minds of these young hybrid musicians. We will see how they blaze trails, risking symbolic, economic, and cultural capital to construct what is true to them. We will see how they critique and challenge the nation-state, rearticulating the national semiotic to create what is authentic for their audience. We will see how they relentlessly perform a glocal hybridity that is proper for their place and time: These musicians revive the urban folk traditions so as to pass on a national patrimony in a way that is specific to their generational habitus.

Chapter One presents a brief history of proto-neoflamenco and proto-neofado bands within their respective historical contexts. I look here at the major groups and evolutionary trends that led to the twenty-first-century bands I study in the following chapters. I present a variety of late twentieth-century Spanish and Portuguese groups and talk a bit about their contribution to the sound, image, and content of the respective hybrid scenes they have helped to form. Some of the Portuguese musicians in Chapter

One come from the traditional fadista scene, but incorporate into fado drastically different sounds. Alternatively, some come from outside the fado world and tenuously incorporate superficial aspects of the Lisbon or Coimbra fado with that of the scene for which they are known. Most of the Spanish musicians in Chapter One that have performed "flamenco fusion" started out originally as amateur or professional flamenco musicians before experimenting with sounds and rhythms from other traditions. Some of these groups couldn't be considered to use flamenco or fado at all, but were fundamental toward the sense of reclaiming their respective national heritage as cool. This was especially important in Portugal as it would eventually lead to a collective reevaluation of fado music by other indie and underground musicians as an important part of the cultural patrimony available to them.

Chapter Two investigates the curious roots of the hybrid scene I refer to as indie neofado: While indie rock tends to ally itself with radical leftist politics, fado has traditionally been associated with the far-right politics and fascist nostalgia of António de Oliveira Salazar. The groundwork for this new hybrid was laid, oddly enough, by a Canadian-Portuguese musician: Paulo Pedro Gonçalves, who produced the first indie fado album *Por este andar ainda acabo a morrer em Lisboa* (1998). Gonçalves, raised in Toronto and surrounded by fado in a Portuguese household, was uniquely positioned to see the productive potential of a musical practice that was largely dismissed by the Portuguese indie scene as stale and regressive. In this chapter, I explore Gonçalves´s unusual background in relation to the reluctance of other Portuguese indie musicians to incorporate fado music. I argue that his upbringing enabled a special musical habitus

which permitted an otherwise unthinkable hybrid creation: blending "regressive" fado with "progressive" indie rock, melding an ethos of ironic detachment with intense yearning and nostalgia. This habitus is informed by the distinct nostalgias inherent in both fado and indie, as well Goncalves's own. I compare the habitus of Gonçalves as the founder of indie neofado with that of a similar visionary trailblazer, Shane MacGowan. MacGowan founded the Celtic punk band, The Pogues, in the early eighties, well before hybrids of this nature became an international indie phenomenon. As such, MacGowan could be considered a generic forerunner of indie neofado and neoflamenco in general. Finally, I connect the habitus of both composers with a later indie neofado musician, Viviane Parra. Parra´s indie fado-tango-chanson hybrid allows us to better understand the way in which the habitus of Parra and Gonçalves coalesce with the reflective and restorative nostalgic underpinnings of traditional fado and traditional indie.

Chapter Three focuses on case studies that address the core issues involved in twenty-first-century indie neoflamenco and neofado creation. Whenever possible I incorporate insights from the musicians themselves. Nearly all of the bands included in this book could fall under the vague umbrella genre of indie music. However, I´ve selected the groups for this chapter as useful case studies based on their respective positions: as generic pioneer (Pony Bravo), as *bricoleur* (Novembro), or as musicians plagued by questions of authenticity (Los Planetas). Some of the bands included in this study are entirely unknown outside of their respective countries. As such, much of the information I include throughout the subsequent chapters derives from information I have

gleaned during personal interviews with the band members from each group according to the methodological practice mentioned above as thick description.

Chapter Four highlights the neofado and neoflamenco practitioners of a music that is often considered as indie, but is just as often considered by insiders and outsiders alike as diametrically opposed to indie—electronic music. This chapter will provide us another opportunity to see how these groups struggle with similar problems as their (non-electronic) indie brethren. I begin the chapter with an economic and sociological analysis of the band A Naifa as a local, Lisbon indie electronic neofado group trying to make it financially in a city that is now a primary destination for internationally famous indie and mainstream pop and rock bands. I next analyze the discursive transcoding of A Naifa co-founder and lyricist, the late João Aguardela. Discursive transcoding is a concept developed by the film critics Douglas Kellner and Michael Ryan to refer to the indirect expression of alienations too threatening to express directly (1-17). I consider the concept of discursive transcoding with respect to a few of the lyrics that an ailing João Aguardela would pen for A Naifa's third album, *Uma Inocente Inclinação Para o Mal* (2008), under the heteronym of Maria Rodrigues Teixeira. The following case study takes an intimate look at the musical roots and cultural influence of Marco Miranda, aka M-Pex. I argue that Miranda´s musical relationship with his grandfather mirrors the way in which different Portuguese generations have embraced or rejected fado. M-Pex is emblematic of a generation of Portuguese youth who, after growing up as European Union citizens, desire a sense of national belonging. The next section deals with M-Pex´s insights as to why it is so difficult to access Lisbon fado learning materials. I position

myself in this case study as, like Miranda, just another indie musician who wants to learn the Lisbon fado Portuguese guitar. I discovered during my fieldwork the various practical and financial barriers to entry into the Lisbon fado scene. I believe this to be the result of a deeply ingrained, protectionist sensibility amongst professional fadistas that finds roots in the Salazar era. The result of a seemingly secret fadista society is that very few (potentially brilliant) indie musicians will take the time to overcome said obstacles. This naturally limits innovation within the field, and, more detrimentally, may eventually lead to the disappearance of fado altogether. The final section of this chapter deals with the Parisian-based, expat, indie electronic neoflamenco group, El Ultimo Grito. The lead singer, Julián Demoraga explains in interviews, as well as lyrically, why the present-day Spaniard may never hear *duende* given its absence in contemporary flamenco lyricism. Demoraga believes his group to be the proper antidote to this twenty-first-century Spanish and flamenco lack of *pena*.[57] I consider how Demoraga´s sentiment echoes those of the Andalusian poet Federico Garcia Lorca and gothic, post punk troubadour Nick Cave. All three poets seem to draw on an overtly regressive, anti-modern, anti-rational nostalgia. This kind of nostalgia is usually connected with totalitarian politics, but the causes and consequences of these poets´ nostalgia is quite distinct. Demoraga and Cave are troubled by the absence of *duende* and *penas* in contemporary rock and pop music. Demoraga, preoccupied with what he perceives as an increasingly isolated Spanish

[57] The Spanish word *pena* translates roughly to hardship, troubles, woe, or sorrow.

society, is nostalgic for the aesthetic and political potential of such expression: the *duende* as unifier, the *quejío* as catharsis.[58]

Chapter Five highlights the political consciousness of neofado and neoflamenco bands. The indie neofado band OqueStrada pushes for a local, sustainable, "mom & pop" style of capitalism. Meanwhile, the indie neoflamenco band Canteca de Macao desires to foster the kind of lively street scene culture from which they were formed in the face of conservative pressure to impose urban silence via Madrid's recent noise ordinance laws. I also look into how these new noise ordinance laws seem to conveniently erase from the city space several "undesirable" elements: gutter punks, immigrants, and gays. Finally, I investigate the battle for intellectual property from various perspectives. How does media piracy affect the neofado and neoflamenco indie and electronic composer? How do these bands position themselves with respect to the indie ideals of free or inexpensive culture within an environment that is increasingly economically hostile? Is Creative Commons licensing a viable alternative to the traditional copyright in Spain and Portugal? How could Iberian governments best police media piracy? What is the role of the SGAE and the SPA with respect to their artists' intellectual property rights?

All of the groups highlighted in Chapter Six are female-led. Within this final chapter I address the sign of the strong Iberian urban neofolk female voice. I look here at the twenty-first-century female perspective via a series of masks as observed in the musical creations and performances of La Shica, Mil i María, and Deolinda. The central protagonist for this chapter is La Shica. La Shica invokes iconic copla heroines in order

[58] The *quejío* (in Spanish, *quejido*) in flamenco is a vocalized moan, groan, or lamentation.

to challenge the traditional Spanish dichotomy of woman as whore/Madonna. La Shica defies this national binary by rewriting the biography of the male-created female protagonists, la bien pagá, la zarzamora, and la lirio. During her live performances, La Shica interweaves figurative and literal masking devices, obscuring her own identity to expose the historic and contemporary dominant national discourses which have come to define national female identity. I continue this study of the masked neoflamenco female performance with an analysis of a live performance by the band Mil i Maria during the hundredth anniversary of International Woman´s Day. Mil i María begins the celebration with a (literally and figuratively) shrouded challenge to her audience to rethink the female exotic Other as well as themselves. Singer-songwriter María del Rocio Herrera Alonso performs a binary of masks onstage (as the female Arab Other and as Marilyn Monroe) in order to shock her mostly female audience that they may better perceive the misunderstood Other within themselves. The Portuguese neofado band Deolinda represents an interesting case study in subversive dissimulation. Ex-punk lead singer and band co-founder, Ana Bacalhau, has cultivated such an endearing, twee image with Deolinda that the group now enjoys universal acceptance amongst young and old in Portugal. Deolinda has taken advantage of the national spotlight by combining their innocuous form with an effective subversive content. The band has named itself after a fictional young Portuguese girl whose naïveté forms the perspective on which the lyrics are based. The songs for which Deolinda is famous, however, are far from lyrically naïve. I analyze how the mask of the little girl Deolinda reinforces the message of the

bubblegum lullaby fado pop they perform, itself an ironic commentary on the mask of commercial fado and national culture in general.

Chapter 1
Historical Review

In this chapter I look at some of the events that helped shape the societies in which the twenty-first-century neoflamenco and neofado bands would be formed. Both Portugal and Spain spent approximately four decades in the middle twentieth century under right-wing authoritarian rule (though admittedly distinct ideologically), and both dictatorships ended at roughly the same time (1974-1975), followed by a transition to democracy in both countries that allowed for a greater freedom of expression, often including youthful dissent. Although the two dictatorships would end during the mid-1970s, many of the processes of democratization can be found already in the 1960s when the Iberian nations experienced massive emigration, rapid urbanization, and a new economic liberalization that saw an increase in foreign trade and a booming service industry, most especially due to a spike in tourism. A profound economic boost during these miracle years was the result of a general European-wide economic prosperity resulting in the ability of more prosperous European citizens to vacation in the coastal cities of Spain and Portugal. The advent of a new urban middle class in the major industrial- and service-oriented Iberian economies, as well as the influence of foreign, democratic values brought by tourists and returned emigrants, would necessarily result in a drastic change in national values as the generation of Iberians born under the divisive years preceding and following the respective dictatorships would give way to a new generation of world citizens that clamored for the kind of civil liberties found in many other industrialized nations (Riquer I Permanyer 260-265; Corkill 49-55).

The Carnation Revolution and the Death of Franco

On April 25, 1974, a practically bloodless coup known as the Revolução dos Cravos (Carnation Revolution) put an end to nearly five decades of António de Oliveira Salazar´s Estado Novo dictatorship.[59] The primary cultural catalyst for the Carnation Revolution was the *música de intervenção* (Portuguese protest music) movement of the sixties and seventies. During the late Salazar regime *música de intervenção* musicians such as José (or Zeca) Afonso, José Mário Branco, Manuel Freire, Fausto, Sérgio Godinho, and Paulo de Carvalho formed the artistic wing of a leftist resistance movement that defiantly sang subversive (but often cautiously symbolic and cryptic) songs about liberty, democracy, and equal rights. Despite the coded metaphors used by many of these singer-songwriters they were often hounded, arrested, or exiled by the Portuguese political police. Portuguese singer-songwriter Zeca Afonso unknowingly would compose the soundtrack for the Carnation Revolution with a song from his album *Cantigas do Maio* (1971). Afonso´s "Grândola, Vila Morena" was originally banned from radio play by the Estado Novo censors who had construed the fraternity enjoyed by citizens of the small Alentejo town to be symbolic of communism. On the 24th of April, 1974, shortly after midnight, a private commercial radio station owned and operated by organizations

[59] The Estado Novo, also known as the Second Republic, was the right-wing authoritarian regime installed under Salazar in Portugal in 1933. It was established following a May 1926 coup overthrowing the failed democratic attempts of the First Republic. Salazar employed his economic acuity implementing reforms and policies which created a degree of political and financial stability as well as economic growth. Hundreds of thousands of young Portuguese men decided to emigrate during the 1960s Portuguese Colonial War in order to escape conscription and pursue economic opportunities abroad. Nevertheless, during the same period the corporatist economic policy of the Estado Novo regime encouraged and created conditions for the formation of large and successful business conglomerates which fostered some degree of economic growth during the tumultuous era leading towards the end of Salazar's rule when he fell suddenly ill in 1968.

within the Portuguese Catholic church, Rádio Renascença, broadcasted "Grândola, Vila Morena." Afonso´s song had been predetermined to signal the revolutionary Armed Forces Movement (Movimento das Forças Armadas, or MFA) to commence a siege of central Lisbon with the end of toppling the Estado Novo regime (Maxwell 58-60).

The Portuguese protest music movement did not end with the fall of the dictatorship. The post-revolution transition period was rife with political conflict as the fledgling democracy was besieged by power struggles involving actors all across the ideological spectrum. A unifying voice for the left came from within the *música de intervenção* subgenre known as *canto livre*, Brigada Víctor Jara. Brigada Victor Jara was formed in 1975 by a group of Coimbra students who became interested in the regional folk music of Portugal's Beira Baixa region. The band revived the region´s folk songs for a fan base comprised initially of a young leftist subculture. Their music gradually attracted a general national and international audience interested in traditional songs of Portugal´s rural interior. Many other *música de intervenção* bands continued to perform well after the fall of the dictatorship in order to give voice to a burgeoning leftist political movement which called for agrarian reform, free education, and open democratic elections. Brigada Víctor Jara remain active to the present but have not released an album for over half a decade.

In Spain, many aspects, though certainly not all, of Generalísimo Francisco Franco's dictatorial regime would die with him, just over a year after the Portuguese revolution, on November 20th, 1975. During the transition to democracy, both countries suffered through a period of economic stagnation due to a fall in remittances, as many

former emigrants returned, joined by a wave of immigration (from Africa and Latin America), OPEC price rises, and a European-wide stagnant economy affecting the tourist industry in both countries. Both Portugal and Spain quickly set out to establish new constitutions while struggling to catch up with the social advances of their European neighbors with long-established democracies. The economic malaise experienced by many industrialized countries during this time period would be countered by a cultural renaissance in Portugal and Spain. The strong macro-economic performance of both countries coincided with a profound change in societal norms, most notably seen in Spain via the countercultural extravaganza of the *movida madrileña*. The *movida madrileña* was characterized by its marked hedonism, a stark contrast from the repressive conditions of nearly four decades of Spanish life under Franco. The heyday of the *movida madrileña* coincided with the national transition to a constitutional democracy. The national social transition embodied by the protagonists of this Madrid scene involved a newfound freedom of expression in which cultural agents such as the filmmaker Pedro Almodóvar would explore the depths of taboo-breaking.[60] Iberia had evolved at a rapid pace both economically and socially since the end of the dictatorships, catching up with many of the rest of their industrialized neighbors, only to later be confronted (on the most basic levels) by the same twenty-first-century challenges shared by all: over-extended credit amongst the general populace; an apathetic, entitled youth culture disconnected

[60] For instance, one of the first scenes from Almodóvar´s first full-length feature film *Pepi, Luci, Bom y otras chicas del montón* (*Pepi, Luci, Bom and Other Girls on the Heap*, 1980), finds the pot-smoking protagonist Pepi raped by a police officer. The police officer´s wife, Luci, is included in Pepi´s plot for revenge. Pepi successfully attempts to corrupt the docile housewife by pairing Luci´s latent masochism with the sadistic nature of her friend Bom. The two become lovers shortly after Bom urinates on Luci. In this film Almodóvar deftly attacks several elements of the deeply entrenched discourses established under Franco´s Spain (monogamous and heterosexual unions led by the patriarch, the authority of the state and its upright representatives, obedient/abstinent Catholic youth, etc.).

from, and disinterested in, their respective national histories; and a troublesome inability to maintain a nationally shared cultural discourse distinct from its international neighbors. Given the socio-historical, political, economic, and geographic proximity of Spain and Portugal, this chapter attempts to address the ways in which the cultural and countercultural musical expression in each country had evolved during the time period spanning from the end of the dictatorships to the end of the millennium. In the following section I take a deeper look at some of the more important sociopolitical, economic, and cultural precursors to the neofado and neoflamenco music scenes. I will simultaneously sketch out the historical evolution of these Iberian musical scenes dating back to the end of both dictatorships.

The Iberian Transition to Democracy

First and foremost, whereas the dictatorship in Portugal was peacefully established and led by an academic, the comparatively repressive Spanish dictatorship of the military general Francisco Franco was the result of a devastatingly bloody three-year-long Civil War (1936-1939).[61] The consequences of this national tragedy had remained so deeply ingrained in the collective Spanish consciousness that forty years later, during the transition to democracy, every possible measure would be insured so as to not repeat this harrowing event. Although both dictatorships would end with relatively little

[61] Salazar was originally a professor of political economy at the University of Coimbra before being appointed to his post as finance minister in 1928 under the "National Dictatorship," and later as prime minister in 1933.

bloodshed, the national memory and the steps taken toward establishing a stable democracy would, as a result of these respective histories, vary quite drastically.

Throughout the decade preceding Spain´s transition to a democratic, constitutional monarchy, a series of established and novice flamenco performers began to experiment with the sounds and semiotics of this urban folk music. By the end of the sixties, the psychedelic rock musician Gualberto García began to tinker with the Andalusian music he grew up with in his hometown of Seville. Considered today a pioneer of Andalusian rock, his band Smash released *Glorieta de los lotos* in 1970. In the face of critiques due to the band´s approximation to flamenco sounds, García released this statement:

> No se trata de hacer «flamenco pop» ni «blues aflamencados», sino de corromperse por derecho, y sólo puede corromperse uno por el palo de la belleza… La diversión no es el cachondeo, sino la bronca que te pega la belleza. Imagínate a Bob Dylan en un cuarto, con una botella de Tío Pepe, Diego del Gastor a la guitarra y la Fernanda y la Bernarda de Utrera haciendo compás. Y dile a Bob Dylan que cante sus canciones. ¿Qué le entraría a Bob Dylan por ese cuerpecito? Pues lo mismo que a Manuel Molina cuando empieza a cantar por bulerías con sonido eléctrico: Aunque digan lo contrario, / yo sé bien que esto es la guerra, / puñalaítas de muerte / me darían si pudieran. (Usó 98-99)
>
> (This isn´t about creating 'flamenco pop' or 'flamencoized blues,' but allowing destruction as a right, and one can only be broken apart by the stick of beauty...The fun is not in making a joke, but the way that beauty creates a ruckus. Imagine Bob Dylan in a room with a bottle of Tio Pepe, Diego del Gastor on guitar and Fernanda and Bernarda de Utrera keeping beat. And tell Bob Dylan to sing his songs. What would occur to Bob Dylan inside this little outfit? The very same thing that comes to Manuel Molina when he starts singing electric *bulerías*: Although they claim the contrary, / I know well that this is war / death´s daggers / they would give me if they could.)

The battle began to rage between flamenco purists and those like Gualberto, who would attempt to derive new possibilities via a convergence of the old and the new along with

the local and the foreign. American jazz or rock musicians like Miles Davis (*Sketches of Spain*, 1960) or The Doors ("Spanish Caravan," 1968) could get away with incorporating flamenco sounds into their own compositions, but Spanish musicians were not afforded the same leniency. By 1966, two flamenco guitarists, Sabicas and Juan Serrano, would release albums that tested the waters of acceptable experimentation with traditional flamenco forms while expanding the international flamenco audience: *Rock Encounter* (with Joe Beck) and *Flamenco fenómeno*, respectively. The beginning of the next decade saw a wave of projects that expanded on the work of these early flamenco hybrids. Throughout the seventies a series of flamenco fusion projects would take hold of the national imaginary. Bands like Triana, Los Chungitos, Los Chuchos, and Las Grecas started to mix traditional flamenco styles and *palos* with the international sounds of the day.[62] Triana successfully released six albums mixing seventies progressive rock (and later eighties pop) sounds with Andalusian rock and flamenco. The sparse minimalism of the proto-nuevo flamenco-hippy duo, Lole and Manuel, searched flamenco song for its Arab roots on *Nuevo día - El origen de una leyenda* (1975). Los Chungitos and Los Chichos spent the seventies experimenting with a style of rumba influenced by flamenco, disco, and Romani music. Their lyrics touch on various themes dealing with the trials and travails of the darker side of everyday life as a Spanish Gypsy at the time: love and hate, poverty and misfortune, violence and drugs, etc. The gypsy twins Edelina Muñoz Barrull and Carmela Muñoz Barull combined a high-pitched flamenco *quejío* with the mid-seventies rhythms of disco and rock, catching the attention of a pair of friends who

[62] The term *palo* is a general designation referring to any subgenre style of flamenco song, dance, or guitar performance.

would together later become the quintessential symbols of flamenco hybrid expression: Paco de Lucía and Camarón de la Isla. Spain´s "flamenco fusion" projects grew increasingly in popularity over the course of the seventies. By the end of the decade flamenco fusion would become solidified as a practice in its own right. Camarón de la Isla´s *La leyenda del tiempo* (1979) would also help pave the way for future flamenco musicians who wanted to work with the tradition in new ways.

La leyenda del tiempo

Fig. 2. Cover for Camarón´s album *La leyenda del tiempo*, 16 September 2007, from Wikimedia Commons, 05 June 2013.

Camarón de la Isla is indisputably the icon for the revolutionary upheaval and renewal of traditional flamenco aesthetics. Nevertheless, the album that would eventually grant him such a status, *La leyenda del tiempo*, was not the product of an inspired isolated visionary. It was the result of a groundswell of transition that encompassed every aspect of Spanish life by the end of the 1970s. It was the time for rebellion, the time to kick against the pricks. It was as natural then for a singer steeped in traditional flamenco to reject the sterile rigidity of Antonio Mairena´s codification of

flamenco forms as it was for many Spanish youth to openly defy every tenet of the Franco-era conservative ideology they had grown up with (Tremlett 175-176). With respect to hybrid flamenco experimentation, *La leyenda del tiempo* stood on the shoulders of all of the aforementioned groups. Camarón did not even technically conceptualize the album, but his capacity for unique live interpretations of flamenco standards could be seen as the inspiration for the man who did, Ricardo Pachón. Having already worked with Smash and Lole y Manuel, Pachón proposed the album project to Camarón after recording the singer during various festival performances throughout 1978 (Marcos 83). Camarón´s long-time collaborator Paco de Lucía was busy touring Europe and the U.S. following the success of his foray into reinventing flamenco guitar technique on *Almoraima* (1976). Regardless, Pachón had already arranged an appropriate cast of young and talented flamenco misfits to back up Camarón on the vanguard jazz-rock-flamenco project: the fast-picking Tomatito and Pepe Roca would replace Paco de Lucía on guitar along with Manolo Marineli (keyboards), Gualberto (sitar), Manolo Rosa (bass), Antonio "El Tacita" (drums), and Raimundo Amador (bass). Rafael Amador, Kiko Veneno, Jorge Pardo, and members of the Andalusian rock group Alameda also performed on and contributed to the final lyrical and musical arrangements of various tracks. Both Gamboa, in *Camarón vida y obra* (2003), and Marcos, in *Flamenco Legend* (2007), compare *La leyenda del tiempo* to the Beatle´s *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967).[63] *La leyenda del tiempo* could also be compared with two other albums released around the same time as *Sgt. Pepper´s*, with respect to audience reaction: Bob

[63] Marcos bases this assertion on a few commonalities between both albums: a groundbreaking status, the influence of drugs on the creative process, and the reliance on heavy studio post-production.

Dylan´s *Bringing It All Back Home* (1965) and The Velvet Underground´s *The Velvet Underground & Nico* (1967). Just as audience reaction to Dylan´s shapeshifting bordered on the outright hostile, Camarón´s traditional flamenco audience aggressively rejected this new trajectory as blasphemous. The Velvet Underground´s debut is similar to *La leyenda del tiempo* in that both releases sold poorly for years before ultimately being received as the most influential albums of their genres.[64]

Veneno

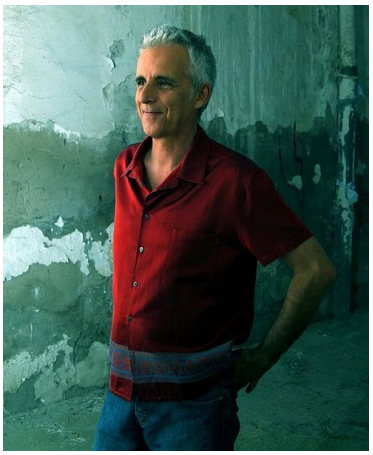

Fig. 3. Kiko Veneno, 30 June 2005, from Wikimedia Commons, 07 June 2013.

Since its inception in 1984, the most widely read Spanish alternative rock magazine has been *Rockdelux*. The monthly magazine typically focuses on up-and-coming Spanish and international indie artists. Every January, *Rockdelux* releases a list of the best national and international albums of the previous year, compiled by its music critics. This list is typically populated by Anglophone indie, pop, and rock bands, with an occasional, gratuitous sprinkling of critically acclaimed Spanish releases. On

[64] "Pero si la importancia retrospectiva de *La leyenda del tiempo* es indiscutible, hasta el punto de haberse convertido en un tópico, la recepción inmediata fue tibia cuando no enconada. Las ventas decayeron (en trece años se vendieron menos de seis mil copias)" (D´Averc 176) (But if the retrospective importance of *La leyenda del tiempo* is undeniable, to the point of becoming a cliché, the immediate reception was lukewarm when not bitter. Sales declined (after thirteen years less than six thousand copies had been sold).

November 2004, *Rockdelux* celebrated its twenty-year anniversary with a retrospective of Spanish music from the 1960s on. Included in this issue was a true rarity—*Rockdelux* attempted a summary of the best 100 Spanish albums of the twentieth century.[65] Kiko Veneno´s eponymous album *Veneno* (released by CBS in 1977) was considered by *Rockdelux* critics as the best Spanish album of the twentieth century.

Kiko Veneno, born José María López Sanfeliu (1952), was a Catalan hippy primarily influenced by Anglophone artists: Bob Dylan, Frank Zappa, Miles Davis, and The Incredible String Band. Kiko enjoyed a rare privilege for the time: foreign travel. It was during a seven-month foray in the United States that he would finally be able to see Spanish culture from the outside looking in. In San Francisco, Veneno discovered a love for flamenco after befriending a Jewish local who had previously studied with the flamenco guitarist Diego del Gastor during a brief trip to Morón de la Frontera, Seville. Veneno returned from his trip abroad to a Spain in flux: Franco was incapacitated and

[65] Such a review of national albums has never been compiled by *Rockdelux* before or since. This seems to be a particular feat for a collection of music critics that, relatively speaking, seem to give less import to Spanish music than music produced outside of Spain. This is not to say that the *Rockdelux* journalists don´t review popular Spanish indie rock albums, but that they do so typically within criticism sections segregated from that of international releases. This perhaps makes sense on an intuitive level since the albums are originating from drastically different geographical locations. Nevertheless, by separating the two in its monthly and yearend reviews, *Rockdelux* is essentially reinforcing a notion about Spanish creative expression as inherently always-already inferior to that of the (primarily) Anglophone. This is a common practice in many local markets. It happens in Minneapolis. But Minneapolis is a municipality with a population of around 370,000, not a nation-state of forty-seven million.
Rockdelux´s list was contextualized with the following proviso: "Precisamente para mantener la coherencia con los géneros y estilos que habitualmente se tratan en Rockdelux, en esta lista no se contemplan ni la música clásica, ni la copla, ni el flamenco puro ni la música tradicional folclórica…Nuestra selección arranca en la década de los sesenta, cuando el formato LP se populariza por fin en España y los jóvenes empiezan a tener protagonismo en la sociedad del espectáculo; con cierto retraso, si, pero así estaba el país…" ("Los 100 mejores discos españoles del siglo XX") (In order to maintain the generic and stylistic coherence which makes up the typical focus of *Rockdelux*, in this list we will not consider classical music, copla, pure flamenco, or traditional folk music. Our selection begins in the sixties, when the LP finally became a popular format in Spain and the kids began to have [a commercial] weight within the live performance scene; a bit behind, yes, but, such was the state of the nation…).

had yet to find a proper successor.[66] Kiko took advantage of the confusion, smuggling back from the U.S. as many LPs as he could carry. He would later give a few of these albums (John Lee Hooker, B.B. King, and Big Bill Broonzy) to Raimundo Amador, "cambiados por piedras de hachís" (Carrillo 178) (exchanged for some hashish bars). From this exchange, Raimundo, already an accomplished flamenco guitarist, would now be able to learn by ear from the masters of blues. Having learned the songs on these albums, Raimundo shared them with his brother Rafael. The Amador brothers began to tinker with a blues-flamenco sound.

Veneno represents a collaboration between an innovative, skillful producer (Ricardo Pachón) and the most accomplished flamenco fusion musicians of the era: Kiko Veneno along with Rafael and Raimundo Amador.[67] The album showcased for the first time the facility with which the Amador brothers explored new musical terrains: jumping between flamenco, blues, funk, and prog rock. It also served as a vessel with which Kiko could perform surrealist rumba experiments. Finally, it proved that the "amateur" producer Ricardo Pachón could tame and transform the raw energy of Veneno´s live, single takes into a cohesive, slick package. The album was poorly received by flamenco purists and rock critics alike when it was first released. Over the course of little less than two years, the Veneno live shows in support of the album went from sublime, uninhibited delirium to cacophonous catastrophe. Notwithstanding the poor reception and disastrous

[66] Franco´s chosen successor, the admiral Luís Carrero Blanco, had recently been assassinated (December 1973) after the Basque separatist/terrorist organization, ETA, ignited a bomb underneath Carrero Blanco´s car as he returned from Mass.

[67] The band Veneno also included António Moreno "El Tacita" (drums); Pepe Lagares (bass); Bizco Eléctrico, Juan el Camas (rhythmic clapping); Luís Cobo (guitar); Noel Mujíca y Nacho (percussion) (Carrillo 178).

disintegration of the band, Veneno is today considered, not only by *Rockdelux*, but by many Spanish music enthusiasts, as one of the all-time most important albums in the flamenco canon.

Pata Negra

Fig. 4. The Brothers Raimundo and Rafael Amador of Pata Negra. Photograph by Juanpadam, 6 September 2012, from Wikimedia Commons, 07 June 2013.

After the breakup of Veneno, the brothers Rafael and Raimundo Amador would go on to form Pata Negra. The Amador brothers founded the group in 1981. Pata Negra´s "bluesería" attempts to musically connect the traditions of two marginalized souths: the African-American blues of the U.S. Deep South and the gypsy flamenco of Spanish Andalusia.[68] They saw "the blues" as synonymous with those sentiments that had undergirded flamenco expression since its inception: *penas* (sorrows) and *quejíos* (laments). It is easy, of course, to translate a word like blues from English into a Spanish equivalent. It is not so easy, however, to transform the harmonic, melodic, and rhythmic structures of an entire music tradition, like blues, so that it can fit into a wholly distinct

[68] Pata Negra´s term *bluesería* mashes into one word the African-American blues sound and rhythm with the gypsy flamenco *palo*, *bulerías*.

structure like flamenco. This was a constant challenge for Pata Negra. Joan Pons explains how the very aesthetic culmination of Pata Negra´s *bluesería* reached its pinnacle in their 1988 album, *Blues de la frontera*, as, primarily, only a metaphor for the universal nature of sorrow expressed through music:

> Con *Blues de la frontera*…los Amador traspasaron el límite de sus posibilidades: se acabó la guasa; y por primera vez, la voz raída de Rafael era más verdad. Ahora sí cantaba blues. Y Raimundo tocaba la española con púa y también tocaba blues. No obstante, a excepción del tema titular y de ´Lindo gatito´, el disco no sonaba blues: ´Lunático´ era reggae; la versión del estándar de los años cuarenta ´How High The Moon´ (compuesto por Nacy Hamilton [sic] y Morgan Lewis) o las sevillanas de Romero Sanjuán ´Pasa la vida´ eran jazz; los tangos nonainos ´Bodas de sangre´, ´Yo me quedo en Sevilla´ o ´Calle Betis´ eran rumbas; y ´Camarón´ era, prácticamente, africana. Pero de todas emanaba un sentimiento dolido que nunca antes se había revelado en una grabación de Pata Negra. (Pons 167)

> (With *Blues de la frontera*…the Amador brothers crossed over the limits of its possibilities: the joke was over, and for the first time, the voice of Rafael was threadbare truth. Now he truly sang the blues. Raimundo played Spanish guitar with a pick and also played blues. However, except for the title track and 'Lindo gatito', the album did not sound blues: 'Lunático' was reggae; their version of the forties classic 'How High The Moon' (composed by Nancy Hamilton and Morgan Lewis) or the *sevillanas de Romero Sanjuán* 'Pasa la vida' were jazz; the *tangos nonainos* 'Bodas de sangre,´ ´Yo me quedo en Sevilla,´ or 'Calle Betis' were rumbas; and 'Camarón' was practically African. But all exuded a bitter feeling that had never before been revealed in a Pata Negra recording.)

Pata Negra, as Pons explains above, did not so much musically hybridize blues with flamenco but rather hybridized the *sentiment* of *quejío*/blues as a borderless musical phenomenon. I found that this was the case for many of the flamenco fusion bands that followed in Pata Negra´s footsteps. One could claim all sorts of hybrid origins for their original creative expression. But it is easier said than done.[69]

[69] Although I found this false claim of hybridity to be the case for many of the eighties and nineties flamenco fusion acts that I researched, I only highlight one example in the final section of this chapter: Mártires del Compás. This is not to say that true hybridity did not exist in Nuevo Flamenco. The aforementioned Camarón de la Isla, as well as bands like Smash, Triana, Las Grecas, Los Chuchos, Los

Movida Madrileña Subculture and Autonomous Punk

Kaka de Luxe and *Rock Radical Vasco*

Fig. 5. Evaristo Páramos of La Polla Records. Photograph by Jon Iraundegi, 30 April 2008, from Wikimedia Commons, 07 June 2013.

During the transition to democracy a new counterculture began to emerge in which flamenco hybrid musicians and Spanish singer-songwriter *cantautores* gave way in popularity to the Anglophone-influenced underground punk and mainstream rock and roll of the early eighties. As Spain wrestled with the proper way to institute a transition to democracy without igniting a new Civil War during the year after Franco´s death, the music scene in England was experiencing its own revolution when the Sex Pistols made their first scandalous appearance on the BBC. The following year, a fourteen-year-old

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Chungitos, etc. did successfully hybridize flamenco with other music traditions. Likewise, the bands that I will study in subsequent chapters have integrated indie and indie electronic subgenre styles into a traditional flamenco repertoire. The overuse of the term flamenco fusion, in which eighties, nineties, and noughties flamenco musicians attempted to create a market niche for themselves was a constant thorn in my side as I conducted my fieldwork. As such, I hope this aside serves future like-minded researchers as a bit of solace if they become frustrated with similar issues.

Olvido Gara Jova (Alaska) would begin playing guitar in Madrid for one of Spain's first punk bands, Kaka de Luxe. An underground movement in Spain's capital--driven by other like-minded bands, artistic collectives, cultural 'zines such as *Ajoblanco* and *Star*, independent music venues and labels, etc.--would soon gain popular attention and the label *la movida madrileña*. During this same time period, the Basque country saw its own opportunity to give new vigor to an age-old call for national self-determination. Franco's efforts to extinguish diverse nationalist movements across different regions of Spain had resulted in a strong underground consolidation of alliances within oppositional groups that could finally emerge to openly contest Spanish sovereignty in Euskadi. This movement, led by the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV, National Basque Party) and the more radical Herri Batasuna (HB, Unity of the People) would shortly find a cultural consolidating voice in the Basque punk music promoted as Rock Radikal Vasco (Basque Radical Rock).

Catalan musicians would lay the vanguard inspiration for both of the underground subcultural movements known as Rock Radikal Vasco and *la movida madrileña*. Throughout Barcelona, underground artists and postmodern hipsters began developing a vibrant collective creative industry well before the death of Franco. The Catalan collective was dedicated to supporting a youthful expression which could function outside of the politically compromised creations that had characterized much of the Spanish artistic production during the late sixties and early seventies. Teresa Vilarós describes some of the key figures in the Barcelona scene and their artistry--high in shock-value during a still-conservative era for Spain:

> Es sobre todo la Barcelona gay de los cómics sado-masoquistas de Nazario, de las exposiciones perversas del pintor Ocaña (muerto en su estudio de trabajo en un incendio en 1980), de las representaciones teatrales del 'Saló Diana,' ocupados por un colectivo de actores y actrices anarcos (anarquistas), y de los 'excesos' de la sala de baile 'Jazz Colón,' hoy desaparecida. ("Los monos" 220)
>
> (Above all it is the Barcelona gay community found in the sadomasochistic comics of Nazario, or the perverse art exhibitions of the painter Ocaña (who died when his art studio caught fire in 1980), of the theatrical representations of the ´Saló Diana,´occupied by a collective of anarquist actors and actresses, and of the ´excesses´ of the dance club ´Jazz Colón,´ now gone.)[70]

The rejection of the politically compromised leftist movement by Catalan anarchists influenced a like-minded vanguard in Madrid that shared a common distrust of all governmental institutions, left or right. The political dichotomy that divided much of Spain for generations into leftists or Francoists was dissolving as early members of la *movida madrileña* sought a voice that expressed a desire toward ideological pluralism, artistic unity, and the hedonistic embrace of the present moment, tapping into a long-standing anarchist tradition.

This new age of Spanish bohemia could be characterized by their lack of political motivation or ideological stance. This was perceived by the prior generations of politically compromised artists in a negative manner. Juan Luis Cebrián describes this

[70] The article cited here, "Los monos del desencanto español," precedes a more extensive study by Vilarós (1998) based on the same premise which equates the clandestine struggle against the repressive Franco regime with heroin or, alternatively, with a hangover "producida por la pérdida del contenido utópico de la superestructura cultural de resistencia a la dictadura" (Vilarós 35) (produced by the loss of the utopian content of the cultural superstructure of resistance to the dictatorship). After the death of the dictator, the transition to democracy, and the civil liberties enjoyed in Spain, the subsequent lack of need for a resistance movement is compared by the author to a collectively shared heroin withdrawal. The society, still contaminated with the *impureza franquista* (Francoist impurities), is now confronted with a daily fight against the abstract nothing that lends no catharsis and no satisfaction--a necessary ritual without meaning but seemingly key to survival: "La poesía práctica de la movida es en el fondo un tratamiento de metadona" (Vilarós 35) (The poetry of *la movida* is, in its essence, a shot of methadone).

generation in a pejorative manner, describing what they lack experientially instead of what they mean culturally:

> No han ido a los campamentos de Falange, no han aprendido el Cara al sol, han sido educados por una iglesia posconciliar, han conocido la época de la represión sólo selectiva del franquismo, no recuerdan las colas de abastos, ni las descargas de los fusilamientos, se han desplazado como emigrantes o como turistas, como estudiantes, por el territorio nacional y no han tenido mayores dificultades para obtener un pasaporte cuando lo han necesitado. (qtd. in Fouce, *El futuro* 80)
>
> (They have not gone to the Falange (Spanish fascist) camps, they never learned the Falange anthem, they have been educated by a postconciliar church, they have only known a select period of the repressive Franco regime, they do not remember the queues for supplies, nor the rifle shot, they are out of place like immigrants, tourists, or students within the national territory, and they have never experienced difficulties in obtaining a passport whenever they have needed it.)

The collective rejection of engagement in Spanish politics by the vanguard members of *la movida*--seen by the older generations as a lazy, complacent attitude that embodied ingratitude and a general indifference toward the utopian dreams of those that risked their lives to provide the civil liberties these youths now enjoy—left open for them the possibility to explore in more depth the international, vanguard, postmodern, experimental artistic Others--movements which were more in tune with this generation's mindset. The appropriations of Anglophone punk by Madrid´s bohemian subcultures provides a framework to better understand how deeply ingrained national cultural values, mixed with new international influences, can be effectively interwoven by such young urban artists to create new meanings that give voice to the needs specific to their generation.

Whereas the eighties Basque punk bands would be greatly influenced by the politically charged, leftist or anarchistic spirit of English punk rock, the bands that

coalesced to form the initial *la movida* scene during the late seventies were more in tune with the gender-bending, drug-consuming, socially bored, and lyrically shocking American Garage, proto-punk, and punk scenes exemplified by the godfathers of these styles: The Velvet Underground, The Stooges, The New York Dolls, and The Ramones. The U.S. punk scene was more bohemian and far less caustic than the politically motivated U.K. punk scene. The *movida madrileña* scene was heavily influenced by the former: the bohemian, avant-garde, elliptical, art punk music of Television, Blondie's disco punk, The Dictator's feminist rock punk, and Patti Smith's poetic punk. The consolidating force in Madrid can be found in a punkish rejection of musical virtuosity, intellectually based lyrical sophistication, and political involvement.

The class-based crisis and conservative government that created an economically disenfranchised, politically aware English punk movement would also be influential for many of the well-healed youthful travelers that were able to visit the U.K. during this period. The social split that followed the peaceful, unified reconstruction period in England after WWII ended up creating a politically engaged, violent punk youth. This can be compared with the political indifference of the young Spanish bourgeois travelers that slummed it in the London punk scene during the mid- to late seventies. These future Spanish punk icons were raised in a polar opposite social situation: constant interregional and political conflict characterized by bitter divisions that (at least with respect to the Basque terrorist group ETA) resulted in violent outbursts (political assassinations, car bombs, etc.) within the capital and throughout the country. Yet, instead of embracing a

seemingly more appropriate English violent punk model, the *movida* artists opted for the drug-addled bohemia punk of the late seventies New York underground CBGB scene.

An ironic take on both sources would be the primary way in which Spanish musicians created their punk adaptations during the early years of *la movida*. Apathetic irony, caustic humor, offensive absurdity, self-effacement, and social satire characterized many of the most critically acclaimed groups (Hornadas Irritantes, Kaka de Luxe, Derribos Arias, Glutamato ye-yé, Almodóvar y McNamara, and Siniestro Total) during the initial moments of the movement. The wayward Spanish youth that created much of this music rejected many of the social causes of the generations that came before them. Instead they opted toward an independent and pluralistic mentality that could look back with equal distaste on the bloodshed and social rifts caused by the age-old political antagonisms of republican communists, socialists, and anarchists versus fascist, monarchist, and Carlist Francoists. This pluralism led to a hybrid curiosity that would reach beyond nationalistic, traditional artistic creations to adopt an amalgamation of foreign and local influences. These new forms of cultural constructions would be some of the defining models for the evolution of the *movida* scene. This new generation of bohemian *madrileños* lived for the moment, firmly grounded in the punk mentality of "no future" for which to not aspire. If Spanish society seemed not to need them, their response would be reciprocal.

The construction of a bohemian subculture, such as that seen in the *movida madrileña*, tends to rise from the disenchantment of a youth of middle-class background that, having finished some higher level of schooling, encounter a lack of adequate options

in the job market and, therefore, an inability to pass through some important rites of passage to adulthood: moving away from the parent's home, making a living of one's own, marriage, beginning a family, etc.[71] The *movida* subculture collectively confronted their shared ennui. A creative outlet, along with the esteem of one's peers trapped in similar situations, provided a sense of meaning absent from mainstream society. Jock Young suggests that such a collective middle-class subcultural artistic creation is typically characterized by enthusiastic romantic eloquence tempered with bohemian cool restraint:

> It will be like the culture of the working-class delinquent, in that it extols expressivity, hedonism and spontaneity, but will have a middle rather than a lower working-class orientation. Thus it will value expressivity through non-violent aesthetic pursuits and hedonism, through a cool (i.e. controlled) mode of enjoyment, rather than a frenzied pursuit of pleasure. (93)

This definition describes the ways in which the middle-class Madrid-based artist, filmmaker, musician, etc., would pursue meaning within tightly knit collectives of similar-minded individuals. However, Young´s description of the typical bohemian subculture does not entirely fit the *movida* scene. Whether perceived from inside or outside the movement, the frenzied pursuit of pleasure was considered by all to be integral to the *movida* ethos. This could be partly explained by the *madrileño* artist´s easy access to a rampant and newly established street drug industry. The scene became

[71] This collective national ennui has been termed *el desencanto* (the disenchantment): "Partly this has been the result of impractically high popular expectations that democracy—for so long the striven-for, almost mythic goal—would provide a panacea for all national problems. Partly it has been the unfortunate result of democracy and economic recession coinciding…the contemporary cycle of recession has certainly fuelled political disenchantment since existing democracy—in Spain as elsewhere—is visibly failing to deliver even minimally adequate life opportunities for the millions suffering the social disenfranchisement and attendant humiliations of long-term unemployment" (Graham and Labanyi 312).

progressively awash with a variety of opiate-based depressants as well as a plethora of stimulants (Wharton 6-8).

Vulpes

The frantic pursuit of pleasure was not limited to a druggie, bohemian *movida* subculture. Young Spanish punk musicians shocked members of the older, conservative Madrid community by dressing provocatively. The uniform of the Spanish punk implied for the outsider a decadent and licentious lifestyle--as if disobeying dominant sartorial customs was an outward expression of an internal devotion to all aspects of sinful hedonism. The male Spanish punks often dressed in rags, held together by bobby pins à la Sex Pistols. The female Spanish punks would wear ripped shirts, short plaid skirts, and fishnet stockings. The conservative Spanish interpretation of such subversive dress was equated to a hysterical pursuit of carnal pleasure. This perception was exacerbated by the heavily publicized lyrics of the Vulpes' song "Me gusta ser una zorra" (I Like to Be a Slut). The song was televised as a performance by Vulpes on the musical program "Caja de ritmos*"* on the 16th of April, 1983 (Puig 109). It was promptly spun into a public scandal by various media sources throughout Spain. After several attacks from politicians, journalists, and op-ed submissions, the music show would be discontinued and the Vulpes would find themselves in a dubious national spotlight that, on the upside, dramatically increased their record sales. The song itself was a Castilian adaptation of The Stooges' "I Wanna Be Your Dog." Vulpes composed new lyrics and slightly adapted the musical structure:

Si tú me vienes hablando de amor,	If you come to me talking about love,
que dura es la vida cual caballo me guía,	how tough life is no matter where it takes you,

permíteme que te dé mi opinión:	allow me to give you my opinion:
Mira imbécil que te den por culo.	Look jackass, fuck off.
Me gusta ser una zorra, cabrón.	I like to be a slut, asshole.
Prefiero masturbarme yo sola en mi cama,	I would rather masturbate alone in bed,
antes que acostarme	than hook up
con quien me hable del mañana.	with somebody who talks to me about tomorrow.
Prefiero joder con ejecutivos	I´d rather fuck executives
que te dan la pasta y luego pasa al olvido.	who pay you and fuck off.
Me gusta ser una zorra, cabrón.	I like to be a slut, asshole.

(Vázquez)

The mad pursuit of pleasure, explicitly contrasted to Spanish bourgeois sexual mores, is comfortably and confidently displayed in the open expression of a loss of inhibition in both the private (masturbating alone in bed) and public (selling sex to rich executives) spheres. Vázquez portrays herself as the self-indulgent prostitute, a metaphor for the way the bohemian *movida* scene saw itself during the early eighties. It was the product of years of repressive society imploding, and thereby forming an excessive inverse of all that had been considered morally virtuous before.

Yet this deliberately offensive persona was only adopted by Vázquez in reaction to the conservative tendency to ascribe to her such a persona. The self-imposed title of slut (*zorra*) is strategically reclaimed by the lyricist, pre-empting this derisive comment, which becomes a meaningless affirmation of the life she had long celebrated. According to Rosa Montero, a Spanish journalist and prolific fiction novelist, the lyrics for this song were composed by the fifteen-year-old Loles Vázquez (a.k.a. Anarkoma Zorrita) as a response to the way she was denigrated by holier-than-thou members of Spanish society throughout the democratic transition:

> Loles compuso *Me gusta ser* una zorra cuando tenía 15 años. Ya por entonces estaba harta de ir por la calle y que la gente se metiera con ella; es eso de caminar a tu aire y que los tíos se acerquen y te digan 'zorra, puta' y demás bramidos susurrantes. Y todo porque eres tía y porque vas vestida de un modo distinto. Así es que escribieron la letra pensando en eso, o sea, si tú me dices que soy una zorra sólo porque soy distinta a ti, porque no quieres comprenderme, entonces yo gritaré que me gusta ser una zorra. ("El mundo subterráneo" 2)
>
> (Back then she was fed up with people picking on her as she walked in the street; taking a leisurely stroll and having guys come up to her and call her ´slut, whore´ and other whispered howls. And all because you are a girl and you dress in a certain way. That is how they wrote the lyrics, thinking about this, that is, if you say that I am a slut just because I am different from you, because you don´t want to understand me, then I will scream that I like to be a slut.)

Vázquez represents the *movida* bohemian subculture performance, embodying all the fictions underlying the conservative Spaniard´s gaze. They exacerbate said gaze by performing the extremes of the roles which they had been given from the start: that of the distasteful and morally bankrupt Spanish youth. It is the product of the centrifugal forces created by the vicious cycle of an extremely polarized Spanish imagined community. The subcultural shock agent represented by Vázquez rejects a stale and corrupt mainstream society. She is the logical effect of the decades-long, entrenched conservativism of the Franco era.[72] She pushes the national boundary of good taste as a reaction to her a priori exclusion from an imagined community that she herself rejects. Mike Brake argues that youthful docile involvement in a society's value system can only come about when they have considered themselves a part of the system. This sense of belonging to a system evolves as the youths invest themselves into the workforce enough

[72] The films, music, theater, literature, etc. produced by *movida* artists represent many of the most extreme cultural expressions that I have ever experienced. It seems that once Spanish conservatives finally began to jettison Franco-era ideology, the mirror extremes died in turn. Almodóvar´s provocative early films, for instance, wouldn´t make much sense anymore.

to see that opposition to the inherent social and economic structures would not yield any significant benefit (20-21). Since the bohemian culture represented by Vázquez had not been fully ingratiated into the mainstream social and economic community, and was, in fact, wholly rejected and impeded by it, the logical response is a refusal to adhere to "normal" values. Such misfits rebuff dominant hegemony and economic systems in the hopes of developing an alternative sub-system that serves to redefine their collective position within the prevailing culture. Loles's father, Bernardo Vázquez, although a member of the conservative Spanish society she rejects, ultimately defended his daughter's stance, defying the mainstream society's calls for governmental censorship and punishment of Vulpes members:

> Yo ya les he dicho que no nieguen jamás que han compuesto la letra, porque debemos hacernos responsables de nuestros actos. Pero si las llevan a la cárcel tendrán que llevarnos a todos, porque todos vamos a decir que hemos compuesto la canción, toda la familia. (Montero 4)
>
> (I have already told you that you should never deny that you have written these lyrics, because we must take responsibility for our actions. But if they try to take these kids to jail they will have to take all of us, because we will all say that we have composed the song, the whole family.)

Bernardo's exclamation of familial solidarity in the face of persecution echoes the sentiment of Lope de Vega´s *Fuenteovejuna*.[73] This symbolic unification of Spanish mainstream and marginalized cultures serves as a desirable metaphor to guide the national family. Instead of resorting to finger pointing and punishment, the father (as

[73] *Fuenteovejuna* (1619) is allegedly based on an actual historical event which occurred in a small town of the same name within the province of Córdoba, in 1476. As legend has it, the Order of Calatrava commander, Fernán Gómez de Guzmán, was a local despot who finally received his comeuppance at the hands of various villagers who kill him. The king of Aragón, Fernando II, sent a magistrate to investigate the incident. Despite all kinds of trickery and torture performed by the royal representative, the Fuenteovejuna villagers never produced a scapegoat: Whenever asked the question "¿Quién mató al comendador?" (Who killed the commander?), they would relentlessly respond "Fuenteovejuna, señor" (Lope de Vega 2007 [1612]) (Fuenteovejuna did it, sir).

metonym for dominant Spanish society) accepts his responsibility in the development of a culture in which his daughter (as metonym for the rebellious *movida* subculture) has no significant place.

Likewise, instead of condemning provocative *movida* protagonists like Vázquez, the powerful consolidation of centrist political organizations known as the Unión de Centro Democrático (UCD, Union of the Democratic Center) celebrated and appropriated their vision of national modernity. In doing so the UCD effectively secured the political support of most all (voting) progressive, marginalized, urban Spanish youths. In addition, the UCD financially backed ´zines such as *La luna de Madrid* while funding several musical concerts and competitions during the early years of the Spanish transition. The most prominent figure involved in the political adoption of *movida* subculture, Tierno Galván, came not out of the UCD, but instead from the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE, Spanish Socialist Worker´s Party). An erudite ex-professor with a tendency toward irony and rebellion (a perfect fit to represent the educated, decadent, bohemian, middle-class *madrileño* youth), Galván served as the mayor of Madrid throughout the *movida* heyday (serving from 1979 to 1986).

Like the UCD, Galván believed this misfit generation could potentially be re-assimilated into mainstream Spanish culture if they were empowered as agents of change and collaborators with a sympathetic, progressive political party. The socialists proved their sincerity by organizing and funding events such as the first Concurso Rock Villa de Madrid (won by the bands Gran Wyoming and Kaka de Luxe) as well as the June 25th,

1984 exposition of a decade of madrileño artistic creations (music, fashion, cinema, plastic arts, etc.), titled *Madrid, Madrid, Madrid (1974-1984)*.

The rejection of prior dichotomies, be they politically (leftist versus conservative) or culturally based (foreign appropriations versus traditionally Spanish music forms), were replaced by bohemian subcultures in Madrid with a pluralistic mentality in order to express the perspective of a socially excluded, disengaged, and disenchanted generation of musicians and performers collectively known as the *movida madrileña*. The major preoccupation of the underground *movida* community would be grounded in the cultural, but the cause and effect of the scene can only be understood in terms of the political: The need to make up for time lost (since the 1968 cultural revolutions experienced by various industrialized countries) by shocking the general public as much as possible, is a direct effect of Francoist isolationist politics. The frenzied pursuit of pleasure as cataclysmic break from all that for which the Franco regime stood was perhaps an afterthought for many of these *movida* protagonists. This famously apolitical, apathetic generation just wanted the party so long denied them. The fact that such a decadent, decade-long party offered such a drastic counter-narrative to the traditional, paternalistic, Catholic national soul--greatly upsetting those faithful to the tired Francoist agenda—was just an added bonus. They sought the international not to spite the domestic, but to experience the forbidden fruit so long out of reach. Anything that reeked of the traditional national discourse was discarded by this generation in exchange for any available cultural manifestation of the Other: from Sydney to San Francisco (Fouce, "El punk," 56-59). This cultural borrowing temporarily served an intense curiosity for their generational

expression. However, such exclusive concentration on that culture which lies outside the national borders necessarily neglects to consider the implications of total assimilation of a foreign musical tradition to meet national needs.

The honeymoon between youth countercultures and the Spanish socialist government (led nationally by Felipe González) would soon come to an end. A profound and general disenchantment with the limited change wrought by the new liberal democratic system would take hold of the Spanish populace in general, and the Spanish youth in particular, over the course of the 1980s. Spain's subversive artists in every medium spent decades perfecting a codified language that could communicate to their audience a direct challenge to the authority of the Franco dictatorship, yet could also evade detection by Franco's censors. Once Franco died, the artistic rebellion involved in reaching the Spanish masses through rich symbolic ciphers lost its purpose and acuity. Rebellion became commonplace. By the end of the eighties, most Spanish artists were tired of the outrageous, were lacking the grand narratives of yore, and were inundated with Anglophone music.

Portuguese Punk

Aqui d'el Rock, Faíscas, and Corpo Diplomático

Meanwhile, in Portugal, one of the first national punk bands Aqui d'El Rock (formed in 1977), was met by mixed reviews as the very form of punk rock was already

being called into question in London.[74] The group was considered to be nothing more than a bunch of bandwagon jumpers by other underground musicians in Lisbon who proclaimed themselves true punks. Paulo Pedro Gonçalves, the guitarist for Faíscas, a band that many Portuguese critics and fans consider to be the first true national punk outfit, said that they were more hippie opportunists than punk: "They were kind of long hairs, hard rockers, really, more than they were punks. But because it was kind of a thing…to hook up to and to get some press from…we never considered them punks." Some consider the group to be the predecessors to what would eventually become the movement referred to as the *boom do rock portugûes*.[75] The atmosphere in which Aqui d'El Rock was formed and evolved is described below:

> Três anos após a chamada Revolução dos Cravos (25 de Abril de 1974), viviam-se em Portugal grandes transformações, grandes expectativas, mas também imensas dificuldades a muitos níveis. Conscientemente o grupo assume essas vivências e sem concessões escolhe a sua própria filosofia; e é com grande naturalidade que os Ad'R acabam por liderar essa corrente apelidada de boom do rock português, onde as novas bandas procuram fazer coisas diferentes. Temas fortes com letras corrosivas, som agressivo e muito poderoso, alguma experiência de palco a par com a novidade, são os principais factores para que tal aconteça. ("Mau Mau")
>
> (Three years after the Carnation Revolution (April 25, 1974), Portugal was experiencing great changes, great expectations, but also immense difficulties on many levels. The group consciously took these experiences and without any compromise chose their own philosophy; and it is quite natural that Ad'R

[74] The band name is a play on the term *Aqui del Rei!*, an expression dating back to the era of a Portuguese monarchy (pre-1910). It was essentially a cry for help--requesting assistance in the name of the king by a Portuguese citizen in some sort of imminent trouble. Aqui d´El Rock then would be a similar cry for help in the name of rock & roll.

[75] The *boom do rock portugûes* was an early eighties musical phenomenon led by Rui Veloso, UHF, and GNR. The concept was very simple: play rock, sing in Portuguese. The generally accepted *pai* (father) of *rock portugûes*, Rui Veloso, was not the first to perform rock in Portuguese. He was, however, the first to enjoy commercial success with his debut release *Ar de Rock* (1980). Alternatively, Aqui d´El Rock have been considered by some local critics as forefathers of this scene due to the fact that their music was more rock than punk and that they sang in Portuguese. Nevertheless, they were far more punk than (as well as nowhere near as successful as) Rui Veloso.

> eventually would lead this current manifestation dubbed *boom do rock português,* where new bands tried to do different things. This was realized by Ad´R via strong themes with corrosive lyrics, aggressive and very potent sounds, and some stage performances along the same lines.)

The hippie rockers would voice the need to *violentar o sistema* (shake up the system) through a somewhat mild and blurred appropriation of the deliberate offensiveness of punk rock. Due to the content of the lyrics and images produced by Aqui d'El Rock and other punk bands that followed, the Portuguese government felt forced to protect the national image and to harshly censor the final products of the more caustic material. This government censorship, in the interest of protecting the national image, was perceived by many Portuguese artists as just a thinly veiled copy of antiquated Salazar regime tactics. The following playful riddle lyrics of the Aqui d'El Rock song "Há que violentar o sistema" was a late seventies rallying cry for the youth movement to rattle the powers that be, to unmask the new Portuguese democracy, to reveal the fact that nothing had really changed since the days of Salazar:

Puxa pla pinha	Pluck the pinecone
e adivinha:	and guess:
qual é a coisa	what is the thing
qual,	which,
que sendo velha	being old
como o cagar,	as shit,
é nova,	is new,
ou está por inventar,	or is yet to be invented,
pior que boa,	worse than good,
melhor que mal,	better than bad,
e que de tanto mudar,	and after so much change,
continua igual.	remains the same.
(Serra and Aqui d'El Rock)	

Aqui d´El Rock may or may not have occasionally sported a punk iconography. There is precious little documentation of their art and imagery. According to the first-hand

observations of Portuguese rock musicologist, João Manuel Aristides Duarte, the members of Aqui d´El Rock did not cut their hair and they did not sport safety pins or swastikas. Nevertheless, their sound was definitely inspired by the three-chord punk aesthetic: brute, rude, and pure (Duarte 40). They were the first quasi-punk band to record and release an album in Portugal—a release which is now impossible to buy in any format, nor does it find sufficient demand to be reissued. Fortunately, some of their songs have been uploaded to Youtube.com.[76]

The Faíscas, unlike Aqui d´El Rock, never recorded an album. The Portuguese record industry by the late 1970s was still quite young and had no desire to actively recruit subversive bands like the Faíscas.[77] The Portuguese indie scene would have to wait until 1986 for the first national indie record label, Ama Romanta.[78] Portuguese bands like the Faíscas normally performed their music with little formal training and a

[76] For what looks to be an actual (though crude) music video for "Há que violentar o sistema" click the song title hyperlinked above. I visited this link on 18 April 2012 and the song had still not reached one thousand plays. Hence the lack of music industry interest in remastering and rereleasing the original recording.

[77] The journalist and Portuguese musical historiographer Jorge Pires shared with me how the late blooming Portuguese record industry finally came about during the *primavera marcelista* (Marcelo Spring--the initial period in which Marcelo Caetano served as Salazar´s replacement. The "spring" lasted between 1968 and 1970, and was initially considered as a promising, new era marking the end of Portugal as closed off to the rest of the world. Hope in the Marcelo Spring died after the general Portuguese populace realized that the regime would not reform to the degree for which they had hoped): "There was no record industry as we know it until [around] 1969. When Salazar died and Caetano became prime minister, he proceeded to do an opening up of society. It was a sort of fake opening up, but at that time there were huge demonstrations in London against the Portuguese colonial war. So he had to create a new image for outside of Portugal. One of the things that happened was that they opened [Portugal] up for businesses that weren´t represented before. One of them was the record industry. So in 1969 and 1971, Philips opens an office here in Lisbon. EMI sold their record through a local representative, Valentim de Carvalho, but it was not until 1986 that they created the first Portuguese EMI. So it took them sixteen years. By the end of the seventies you had all of those records more or less available here in Lisbon. In ´75 or '76, when I was in high school, we had to order our records through a mail service based out of London. It was called Tandey. So you would send a post card to Tandey. They would send you a catalogue every month, and then you would order your records" (Pires).

[78] The Lisbon club Rock Rendez-Vous did however publish its own live recordings of the indie acts performing in the club during the early eighties. Rock Rendez-Vous would make an annual compilation composed of twelve songs from what the owners considered to be the best live performances of the year.

lack of the kind of sophisticated musical equipment that bands in other countries at the time took for granted:

> Era vulgar que o utilizador de uma guitarra eléctrica tivesse de aprender a construir os seus próprios pedais de efeitos, já que esse tipo de material não se encontrava nas lojas de instrumentos ou, sendo importado, chegava aos comerciantes a preços incomportáveis para os consumidores. Ser músico não era realmente o tipo de profissão de que alguém pudesse depender para a sua subsistência. (Pires, *Madredeus: Um Futuro Maior* 24)
>
> (It was common for an electric guitarist to have to learn how to build his own effects pedals since this kind of merchandise was not available in instrument shops or, if imported, it arrived to the stores at prices out of reach for most customers. Being a musician was not really the kind of profession that someone could depend on for a living.)

Nevertheless, the Faíscas enjoyed a constant cult following once stories of their chaotic live shows began to be passed down as Portuguese punk oral legend from generation to generation. The band was formed in Lisbon in 1978 by many of the same members that later would form Corpo Diplomático and Heróis Do Mar.[79] According to Paulo Pedro Gonçalves, lead guitarist for the Faíscas, there were so few Portuguese punk bands in Lisbon at that time that the Faíscas members were actually forced to open for themselves:

> We had a band…Jo Jo Benzovak e os Rebeldes. [Benzovac] was a stain remover kids would sniff to get high…What happened was like, we needed a band to play with us. There were *no* bands. We were kind of the only punk band that we wanted to play with, anyways. So we put together this band--same people--but we wore nylon stockings on our head and different clothes. And we'd play for ourselves. We'd open the gig with us playing. We'd do all these Rockabilly covers, and then we'd go. And we would send friends on, without the stockings and wearing our clothes, to thank the audience. And then we'd come on [as] Os Faíscas afterward…(Paulo Pedro Gonçalves)

[79] For the Faíscas, every band member would perform under a stage name: Pegro Ayres Magalhães (as Dedos Tubarão), Paulo Pedro Gonçalves (as Rocky Tango), Emanuel Ramalho (as Gato Dinamite), and Jorge Pedro Pais (as Jorge Lee Finuras).

Gonçalves´s next band, Corpo Diplomático, fortunately had more support and enjoyed a greater community of alternative fans and musicians. Corpo Diplomático was Portugal´s first post punk/new wave band. The Faíscas cofounders Paulo Pedro Gonçalves and Pedro Ayres Magalhães decided to add Rui Freire on the moog synth as well as a keyboard player (Carlos Maria Trindade) and another percussionist (Ultravioleta) who could integrate some African rhythms. Their mutual interest in African beats came from spending hours rehearsing as a punk band in a studio space which also drew a large contingent of musicians from Guinea-Bissau. The influx of PALOP immigrants into Portugal following the process of decolonization after April 1974 created an atmosphere in Lisbon both culturally rich and socially chaotic.[80] For Gonçalves, himself a Portuguese expat raised in Canada, the addition of such a fascinating external historical patrimony to the national mosaic provided a new

[80] PALOP is an acronym for Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa (African Countries in which Portuguese is the Official Language). The PALOP countries are Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe. Together with Portugal, Brazil and East Timor, these countries form the Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP, Community of Portuguese Language Countries).
This influx of immigrants from Portugal´s ex-colonies occurred during the period of de-colonization in 1975, consisting of Portuguese nationals of African origin by virtue of parentage, or by those that worked as civil servants in the colonial administration. They were joined by a rush of around a half a million *retornados* (white Portuguese and their African-born children returning to Portugal after fleeing Angola and Mozambique at the time of independence). This wave of immigrants was preceded by a first wave of 80,000 Cape Verdean immigrants (arriving between 1955 and 1973) who were brought in to perform construction work due to the scarcity of a capable labor pool (itself the byproduct of massive Portuguese emigration and Portugal´s colonial wars in Africa after 1961.) "The most recent wave of sub-Saharan African immigrants since the 1980s and 90s has led to the leveling of differences between previous Afro-Portuguese and current African immigrants together with their respective progeny (many of them born and raised in Portugal), becoming all subsumed by the Portuguese populace in conjunction with the media under the labels of ´Africans´, ´African immigrants´, ´second or third generation children of immigrants´, or ´blacks´…All signifiers, from the more ostensibly benign to the more virulently scornful, imply the othering of Africans and Afro-descendants despite the fact that there is today a large and heterogeneous population in Portugal of Afro-descendants in terms of national origin, social class, legal status, cultural ties to Portugal and/or Africa, in addition to education levels, that has been radically changing the landscape, especially in the Greater Lisbon region" (Arenas 5).

opportunity to experiment.[81] Magalhães and Gonçalves soaked themselves in the intriguing rhythms they found in the handful of bars catering to the Guinean Diaspora. After experimenting with the new sounds and beats provided by Trindade and Ultravioleta, Gonçalves and Magalhães released their first studio recording, *Música Moderna* (1979). The sound proved to be too far out for the majority Portuguese audience, and the album is now, unfortunately, out of print. According to Gonçalves the masters are lost as well since the label (Nova) that recorded *Música Moderna*, went bankrupt decades ago. Nevertheless, the audience that followed this duo throughout the drastic transition from the Faíscas to Corpo Diplomático functioned as subcultural capital benefactors, introducing a wide variety of Lisbon citizens to the creative duo that would next form Heróis do Mar.

Whereas Spanish socialist politicians were actively recruiting local punks in order to reach a more radical electorate, Portuguese politicians sought to quell the offensive punk movement of late seventies and early eighties Lisbon in a desperate attempt to maintain control of a new democracy they considered to be spinning out of control. The fierce reaction of the Portuguese government to the distasteful punk produced by bands like the Faíscas and Aqui d'El Rock (as well as the radical post punk produced by Corpo Diplomático) was immediately interpreted by the subculture as a throwback to the regressive methods of the former dictatorship, reinforcing their need to further push the boundaries of good taste. In the early 1980s, as the revolutionary Portuguese punk furor dissipated, the countercultural torch would be passed to a new generation of performers practicing the aforementioned *boom do rock portugûes*. This generation of Portuguese

[81] See Chapter Two for more biographical information on Paulo Pedro Gonçalves.

musicians had its own challenges to overcome, namely in finding a distinctive national musical voice beyond just singing rock in Portuguese.

The Portuguese nation was itself in a similar crisis of defining its own core values as it made the transition from a socialist economy to a society increasingly controlled by the forces of international free market capitalism. Throughout most of the eighties the Portuguese constitution was a document in which competing economic and political ideologies fought for primacy. In the years following Portugal's transition to democracy, a shaky economy would bring the first threats to sovereign control. The rapid growth in domestic demand for foreign goods resulted in an unsustainable debt-to-GDP ratio. The Portuguese government would need to pursue IMF-monitored stabilization programs twice in one decade: once in 1977–78 and again in 1983–85 (Corkill 47-51).

Eighties Portugal—Indie rock and proto-neofado

European Economic Community (EEC) membership for Spain and Portugal in 1986 contributed to economic growth and development largely through increased trade ties and an influx of funds allocated by the EEC to improve the countries´ infrastructure.[82] After a recession during the early 1990s, the Portuguese and Spanish economies would grow at an average annual rate above the European Union average. Despite the rapid economic growth as a result of integration into the European community, a palpable disinterest amongst many Iberian youth in the politics of European integration can be seen in the historically high rates of abstention amongst

[82] The European Economic Community was the predecessor to the European Union.

these generations from European Parliament elections. At the same time, as the level of basic domestic infrastructures improved during the final decades of the twentieth century in Spain and Portugal, the increased consumption of new technological innovations led to a society of conspicuous consumption similar to other first-world nations. "Fuelled by low interest rates, the 1990s witnessed an unprecedented consumer boom that saw the Portuguese shift from a nation of savers to a nation of borrowers. As a result, by 2001 personal debt had risen to 100 per cent of disposable income compared to a level of only 18.5 per cent in 1990" (Syrett 8).

International indie´s sociological origins date back to the mid-seventies and early eighties. The Anglophone indie music scenes were far less diverse and far less connected with the outside world than they are today, especially with respect to non-Anglophone indie musical creation. Indie bands in general were instead far more interested in developing underground networks and infrastructures connecting the individual scenes across their respective countries. Very few American indie bands actually had sufficient desire or economic capital to risk a tour venture to Europe. Given such lack of flow of cultural knowledge, it would be unlikely to hear a fan of the legendary Minneapolis band Hüsker Dü talk of the Portuguese rock group Faíscas, or overhear a musician in the L.A. hardcore punk band Black Flag speak of Aqui d'El Rock. The reverse would be slightly more likely to occur, considering the hegemonic flow of cultural information at the time. Nevertheless, a common spirit of rebellion against the status quo was an ideology underlying the lyrics of the incipient movement of early international indie music: a

geographically disconnected scene which yet defied national boundaries.[83] These indie voices were united politically if not geographically via the cry of youthful discontent. The indie kid found his part in a collective international chorus against the stifling atmosphere of repressive stoic societies and the cultural banality of mainstream music.

In the United States, the new Reagan presidency was a perfect engine to ignite mass protests in the form of punk music and its many derivatives. Mission of Burma drummer Peter Prescott remarked that "the eighties were a little like the fifties—it was sort of a conservative era, money conscious, politically nasty, and Republican. And usually that means there's going to be a good underground" (qtd. in Azerrad, *Our Band* 9). English punks could likewise rebel against their reviled enemy, then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. In Portugal, as can be seen in the lyrics of some of the subculture bands from this era, there was a similar sentiment to that expressed by Prescott: The old system had returned with a new name and, therefore, must be challenged. This same sentiment is the obvious answer to the simple riddle of Aqui d´El Rock´s "Há que violentar o sistema." Paulo Pedro Gonçalves provides here an interesting personal anecdote which captures a sort of Portuguese dual culture existing around the same time period:

> In a country where there was a new government, a different president every year, everybody was looking after themselves. Nobody cared about the national good anymore. There was this tug-of-war going on between ideologies, and everything was lost. There was no freedom really. There was this *so-called* freedom, but the army was patrolling the streets. [If] you walked around in the punk phase with torn trousers, you'd get stopped by a guy with a machine gun and [he'd] go 'why

[83] That said, one can not discount the influence of media in the global distribution of even some of the most obscure indie bands. Where indie record labels, music magazine distribution, and radio couldn´t reach, MTV somehow could. MTV Europe began distributing mainstream and alternative music video content across Europe via satellite, cable, and terrestrial television on April 1, 1987.

> are you wearing torn trousers, *comrade*?' And you´d go, 'well, because I want to, *comrade*.' And he'd go 'well you fucking go home and change your trousers, *comrade*, or else you'll end up in jail.' (Paulo Pedro Gonçalves)

As Gonçalves paints it, the Portuguese imagined community was in shambles due to irreconcilable differences between the national right and left. The ideological struggle between the socialist/communist left and the last vestiges of those patriots still nostalgic for the control exercised by Salazar´s right-wing authoritarian regime underlies the subtext of this encounter. The use of the word comrade by both Gonçalves and the machine-gun-wielding army officer points to a historical period in which Portugal was briefly led by the (then) far-left Partido Socialista (PS, Socialist Party).[84] As Gonçalves related the anecdote to me he emphasized the sarcastic tone of both protagonists when using the word comrade. This makes for an interesting example to briefly consider the strategic tactics of coercion and subversion involved in this encounter. Both Gonçalves and the soldier used the term comrade to conceal what they really wanted to say, which would most likely be enemy (accompanied with an expletive). The word comrade should imply brother, fellow countryman, friend. Both parties maintain the current leftist discourse of socialist camaraderie in word while defying it in tone. This can be seen as a metonym for the troubled nation: At a time in which Portugal presented itself as a unified, modern, democratic nation to the outside world, it simultaneously concealed the fact that underlying, bitter internal battles were tearing apart the brittle foundation on which the democracy was founded. Gonçalves´s anecdote unmasks the pretenses of the

[84] Gonçalves also mentions a rapid turnover of governments. During the turn of the decade there was constant governmental shuffling. This encounter most likely occurred during the government of Socialist Prime Minister Maria de Lourdes (Ruivo da Silva Matos) Pintasilgo (August 1st, 1979 to the 3rd of January, 1980).

public transcript as national performance and makes evident a dual culture: "The official culture filled with bright euphemisms, silences, and platitudes and an unofficial culture that has its own history, its own literature and poetry, its own biting slang, its own music…, its own humor, its own knowledge of shortages, corruption, and inequalities that may…be widely known but that may not be introduced into public discourse" (Scott 51). The hidden hypocrisy of this dual culture represented the gaping national wound which Gonçalves´s next project, Heróis do Mar, was determined to expose.

Heróis do Mar

In 1981, the self-titled debut album of Heróis do Mar would challenge ideas of the mythic Portuguese empire with accusations of its intrinsic fascist qualities. At the time it was generally considered by most Portuguese music critics as a cheeky copy of the British neo-romantic sound, but it has since been deemed "one of the greatest Portuguese albums of all time" by critics such as Jorge Pires and Rui Miguel Abreu. The band formed out of the ashes of Corpo Diplomático in March of 1981. Gonçalves and Magalhães, the founders of Faíscas and Corpo Diplomático, kept Trindade and added vocalist Rui Pregal da Cunha and drummer António José de Almeida. The concept of Heróis do Mar was to represent Portugal, its history, and its culture through music and a postmodern ironic lyrical bent. The name of the band comes from the first verse of the Portuguese national anthem. The initial vision of the band was characterized as somewhat neo-militaristic and can be seen in many of the lyrics and imagery which Heróis do Mar used to glorify the national history:

> The band they came up with was somewhat different from the Heróis do Mar that came out. The first version of Heróis do Mar was like those male chorus groups from the Alentejo, like twenty guys singing. That kind of music only exists in the Alentejo and Corsica. The first version of Heróis do Mar was a collective. There were ten of them, they had two drummers, a male choir, three or four guys that just held a banner--they didn´t play an instrument. It was really a theater, like from the musical theater. Some of the songs were made during the Corpo Diplomático period, but they changed the lyrics. They had to change the lyrics again when they got the contract with the record company because [the label representatives] thought "this is too much. You can´t sing this." The songs were called like "National War;" "Marching on Lisbon." It was a military approach, but at the same time it was a kind of new barbarian, mythological, theatrical thing. (Pires)

Even the sanitized version that Heróis do Mar would eventually produce ended up rubbing many national citizens the wrong way. The memory of Salazar's Estado Novo was still very fresh in the minds of the generation that lived their entire lives under its oppressive heel. Heróis do Mar´s first show in Lisbon was November 25th, 1981. The date happened to coincide with the six-year anniversary of the right-winged counterrevolution led by Jaime Neves. They had already stoked the ire of many left-wing Portuguese citizens who couldn´t help but notice all of the band´s right-wing references:

> People were queuing around the block because there was this rumor that Jaime Neves [and his right wing commandos] were all going to be at our gig to salute us…It wasn't true, but a rumor started--you know, rumors… and when we booked--I mean none of us thought--until it was in the papers--and then everybody was going ´oh they're fucking playing on the day of the coup´…Well there were 600 people inside, and there were 600 people outside who wanted to get in. Suddenly we were news. Everybody knew who the hell we were. But that was just luck…or unluck. (Paulo Pedro Gonçalves)

Iberian tension had already been extremely high that year after Spanish Guardia Civil Lieutenant Coronel Antonio Tejero Molina´s attempted coup on the 23rd of February.[85] The fragile young Iberian democracies could scarcely withstand such threats as those posed by Neves and Tejero. Although Spain was arguably far more politically divided than Portugal during the transition years, the nascent Spanish democracy could count on something Portugal lacked: a strong monarchical figure. Tejero´s coup was extremely short-lived. King Juan Carlos I gave a nationally televised address that same evening denouncing the coup and urging the maintenance of law and the continuance of the democratically elected government. The following day the coup leaders surrendered to the police. Luckily for Gonçalves and Heróis do Mar, Neves never wouldn´t make it to the concert and the showdown was averted.

Punk and post punk bands across the world sought throughout the eighties to provoke their local communities by symbolically representing extreme politics. It was only on the margins of common sense or common decency that such groups were still able to shock. Such extremism was particularly poignant in the post-dictatorship culture of eighties Portugal, a country which had recently grown complacent in the belief that the atrocities of the middle twentieth century could never again be repeated. According to Gonçalves, Heróis do Mar was just holding a mirror up to a nation that had never really been able to shake its recent authoritarian right-wing roots. Gonçalves, after returning from a brief stint in London had yet another encounter with the Portuguese military. This

[85] On the 23rd of February 1981, Tejero entered the Congress of Deputies (the lower house of the Spanish Parliament) with over 200 Guardia Civil officers. Tejero held the deputies present hostage for nearly 24 hours. The entire nation anxiously held its breath while watching the events unfold on television.

time the exchange was not as cordial. By the early eighties the Portuguese musician and the Portuguese soldier were no longer even false dual-culture comrades:

> Pedro [Ayres Magalhães] lent me his father's army overcoat, and I was wearing it. I went to the bank to change pounds, and the army stopped me and said 'listen mate, I'm confiscating your coat.' And I said, 'well this belongs to a colonel in the army--it's his. His son lent me the coat.' 'It doesn't matter. We are confiscating it, and if you don't shut up you're coming to jail too.´ So I was like, ´take the fucking coat.´ So in a time where we were living like that, and where everything was ruled by the military and by these so-called left-wing organizations that if you said ´boo´, they would say ´we'll take you into Campo Pequeno and shoot you.´ And Heróis do Mar were called fascists! (Paulo Pedro Gonçalves)

Heróis do Mar spent the early years of the eighties building a live show and a collection of music videos in which the iconic imagery of national patrimony (throwback military uniforms, Knights Templar flags, etc.) was wrongly interpreted by many Portuguese citizens as further evidence of the band´s fascist leanings. The transgressive imagery used by Heróis do Mar made for great copy for the one Portuguese music journal at the time, *Música e Som*.[86] The Lisbon-based clubs were also few and far between—Jukebox and Rock Rendez-Vous both opened in 1980, meaning that Lisbon music fans could finally see live rock without having to make the hour-long trek to the resort town of Cascais. The idea behind Heróis do Mar was to shock the audience during sporadic live shows housed in these two clubs as well as other informal venues. The imagery employed by Heróis do Mar was in reality more marketable than subversive: relics of empire were intentionally striking and memorable. Any glorification of the national past,

[86] Another short-lived ´zine dedicated primarily to covering the Anglophone and Portuguese punk rock scenes, *Rock Week*, lasted a mere three and a half months from April, 1980, to mid-July, 1980. The Portuguese indie music magazine *Blitz* picked up where *Música e Som* left off, stopping the presses in 1982. *Blitz* began publishing in November 1984 and is to this day the primary national source of indie music journalism (Pires).

whether it be sincere, tongue-in-cheek, or just an incidental sartorial decision was seen as a provocation during this tense transition period.[87]

However, the band´s polemical position turned many against them—their live performances were prohibited south of the Tagus River for five years. When they finally played the (traditionally communist-leaning) Alentejo, the band had to hide in a nearby church to avoid female fans that wanted to rip their clothes off. Not, of course, because these fans were hardcore nationalists, but rather due to the fact that they had been denied the live performance of a band which, after five years, had reached a mythical status in their minds. In the collective Alentejo youth imaginary, Heróis do Mar had become a forbidden fruit of sorts. The paternalist protectionism and isolationism, so characteristic of the Salazar regime, had been inadvertently adopted by communist Southern Portuguese leaders to protect their youth from a band which, ironically, referenced the Salazarian past primarily just to prove that many of its most regressive elements were still present. Though the music and lyrics of Heróis do Mar would evolve and test other boundaries of creative expression, always pushing the limits of national good taste, the band´s most provocative period coincided with this first album. Heróis do Mar enjoyed further fame from several dance hit singles released within subsequent albums—*Mãe* (1983), *Macau* (1986), but never again would provoke such national righteous indignation. Perhaps this is due to the style change adopted by the band to distance

[87] Jorge Pires explains how Heróis do Mar´s sartorial glorification of the Portuguese past came about from a variety of factors, including sincerity, satire, and circumstance. In part jest, in part parodic theater, and in part aesthetic choices determined by the limited availability of matching outfits, Heróis do Mar touched a sensitive national nerve: "The people from the left wing really missed the joke…the far right, the military marching on Lisbon, etc.--no man, this is theater. All the flags and all the leopard skins that they used during the first concerts, the huge belts--they were all rented from a shop that rented wardrobes for theater. When they had their concerts they would go to the store and rent these outfits" (Pires).

themselves from any further polemical political signification. Or perhaps Portugal had slowly got the message that democracy must be more than skin deep in order to survive. The band worked throughout the eighties, but finally split in 1990 due to internal conflicts.

António Variações

Fig. 6. Bust of António Variações in Fiscal, Amares Portugal, by the sculptor Arlindo Fagundes. Photograph by Joseolgon, 24 January 2010, from Wikimedia Commons, 07 June 2013.

António Variações was one of the first Portuguese indie musicians to lay claim to influences that stretched from Amália Rodrigues to the Talking Heads. Variações was heavily influenced by much of the music that came out of the late seventies CBGB scene. His vanguard, independent perspective allowed him to appreciate all music, local or international, despite arbitrary negative connotations associated with any particular scene or band. Variações was a rare example of the countercultural elements of his time in that he openly praised Rodrigues when practically all other young Portuguese youth artists considered her a tool of Salazar. Amália was fado, and fado was *old* Portugal—a tired backwater that the new generation desperately desired to leave behind. For a member of the underground music scene, linking yourself to Rodrigues was an artistic death wish.

Variações began recording his compositions in his bedroom, playing on a toy-like Casio keyboard which he caught on a crude stereo tape recorder. And yet, on these simple machines, he managed to produce songs that were catchy enough to grab the attention of one of the most important Portuguese labels of the time, Valentim de Carvalho. The first single that Variações released under this label featured a version of one of Amália´s greatest hits "Povo Que Lavas No Rio." The cover song initially caused a great deal of controversy as many fado musicians and fans were unsure as to Variações´s sincerity. Amongst traditional fadistas, the six-minute song consisting of waves of screaming vocals, edgy guitar and organ music set to drums was borderline heresy. The cover was later appreciated and accepted by skeptics as it became increasingly clear that his devotion to Amália was indeed very sincere. Variações first full-length album, *Anjo da Guarda* (1983), was openly and entirely dedicated to Amália. Although untrained and unequipped to produce the kind of music that seemed to naturally flow from him, Variações was able to build a vast following by 1983. By February of 1984 he was joined in the studio by several members from the most successful national band at the time, Heróis do Mar, to record his second full-length album, and greatest success, *Dar & Receber*. Variações considered his music to be a bridge between New York City and Braga (a town in Northern Portugal known for its old Cathedral and deep-seated religious traditions). He successfully captured these two opposites in a musical hybrid that seemed to put both David Byrne and Amália Rodrigues on equal pedestals. As Variações championed the vastly different musical styles of Rodrigues and Byrne, he also consistently performed a subversive gender role that fluctuated between the two.

During live performances--with respect to dress, vocalization, stance, and gesture--Variações exhibited equal parts traditional female fadista icon and vanguard underground new romantic/post punk, cult bohemian. Likewise, Variações´s play with gender and genre made for a revolutionary break within the nascent Portuguese indie scene in the same way that seventies British and U.S. glam rockers like David Bowie and The New York Dolls defied traditional rock aesthetics and heteronormativity.

Variações passed away on the 13th of June, 1984, of a bilateral bronchial pneumonia, the result of AIDS-related complications.[88] His funeral was held two days later at the Estrela Basilica where family, friends, fans, and just a few fellow musicians paid their last respects. Although Variações didn´t exclusively produce music that directly referenced Portugal´s fado tradition, he serves the nation and his neofado heirs as a pioneer in his ability to recognize and pay homage to the importance of a rich historical patrimony during an era when such affiliations were not only inopportune but downright career-ending. It was perhaps his very profound alliance to a burgeoning international misfit indie subculture which provided him license to not only perform a gender role which was subversively ambiguous, but also (and perhaps more importantly for our

[88] Variações was the first major Portuguese figure to die of AIDS. AIDS would claim many more Portuguese lives throughout the decade until the Ministry of Health and the National Association of Pharmacies set up the National Committee against AIDS. In 1990, the committee established a nationwide syringe exchange program, accompanied by an ad campaign advising Portuguese citizens to "just say no" to a dirty needle. Rates of HIV infection plummeted as users of intravenous drugs could swap used syringes for new ones (Coutinho and Godinho 208-224). A decade later, in 2001, the national government followed suit by becoming the first European country to officially abolish criminal penalties for personal possession of all drugs, including marijuana, cocaine, heroin, and methamphetamines. The Portuguese government substituted the incarceration of drug addicts for therapy, a measure which further curbed HIV infection rates.

purposes) a musical role which, for many a Lisbon countercultural artist, teetered on the blasphemous.

Rão Kyao´s *Fado Bailado*

Fig. 7. Rão Kyao at FMM Festival das Músicas do Mundo in Porto Covo, Portugal. Photograph by Claus Bunk, 26 July 2007, from Wikimedia Commons, 07 June 2013.

Rão Kyao was Portugal´s jazz saxophone prodigy. During the late sixties, still in his early twenties, Rão Kyao had already performed in several countries across Europe. Around the end of the 1970s, Kyao left Portugal for India with the goal of finding the missing link between Portuguese music and the music of the Orient. Upon his arrival, Kyao studied a variety of traditional Indian musics while learning the bansuri flute. In 1979, he released the album *Goa* as a result of his research and practice. In 1983, Kyao collaborated with the Portuguese guitarist António Chainho, and the guitarist/bassist José Maria Nóbrega to produce the album *Fado Bailado*, playing the saxophone on traditional fado tracks made famous by such fadista greats as Alfredo Marceneiro and Amália Rodrigues, as well as penning his own originals. *Fado Bailado* was the first Portuguese

album to go platinum, a surprising feat for an instrumental fado album released in 1983, long after this music tradition had fallen out of vogue. Kyao achieved for fado what Miles Davis had (two decades before) accomplished for flamenco, in creating a viable fusion project that elevated the status of the urban folk canon for a wider, international audience. For future neofado musicians, Kyao helped make fado cool again. Somewhat.

Paulo de Carvalho´s *Desculpem Qualquer Coisinha...*

Paulo de Carvalho began his music career in 1962 with Os Sheiks, a band that was referred to as the Portuguese Beatles. Carvalho had the opportunity to represent Portugal twice in the prestigious Eurovision Song Contest (in 1974 and 1977). But the album that relates to this particular musical historiography wouldn´t be released by Carvalho until 1985, *Desculpem Qualquer Coisinha...* This album was a trailblazer for the future neofado scene, but did not enjoy the kind of commercial success of Kyao´s *Fado Bailado*. Although most of the songs on *Desculpem Qualquer Coisinha...* don´t represent a drastic musical or lyrical departure from the standard fado expression of the era, it was largely ignored by fado purists due to the non-traditional title, the album imagery, and the occasional non-traditional instrumental accompaniments (electric synth guitar, congas, and whistle). Fado purists also didn´t appreciate an ex-"Portuguese Beatle" encroaching on their revered tradition. The album cover depicted a rough sketch of Paulo de Carvalho in a posture more reminiscent of Lou Reed than Carlos do Carmo:

Figure 8. Album cover for Paulo de Carvalho´s *Desculpem Qualquer Coisinha…* Liner Notes. *Desculpem Qualquer Coisinha…* Universal Music Portugal, 1998. CD.

Nor was the album embraced by the Portuguese rock scene because the musicians who had closely followed every other release by Paulo de Carvalho still considered fado music as a regressive tradition for aging counter-revolutionaries. Nevertheless, the adoption of fado by a Portuguese pop star, along with Carvalho´s bad boy rocker album cover imagery, introduced for the first time the *possibility* of similar subversive approaches to the, until then, untouchable practice. The fado floodgates were opened by Carvalho in 1985. Musicians like Anamar, Mler Ife Dada, and Paulo Bragança would be quick to take up Carvalho´s call.

Ocaso Épico and Mler Ife Dada

A contemporary of similar mindset to Variações was Carlos Farinha (aka Carlos Cordeiro, aka Farinha Master), the lead singer of the avant-garde Portuguese band Ocaso Épico. Farinha took his pseudonym from his favorite fadista Fernando Farinha. Although no recordings remain of his first experiments with an experimental form of fado, he is often considered within the underground indie community as an early adopter of this and other regional folk musics.[89] Farinha Master is one of the most celebrated icons of this era due to his often chaotic and unpredictable live performances:

> I remember seeing him at Jukebox…He played like three songs and then said 'I got something for you', and then he turned on a bike motor, and it was this huge noise. Everybody went outside, you know. I guess [Ocaso Épico was] the first concert I saw here…It was in an independent theater house called Buraca…When I got in, there was me and three other guys that had paid the ticket. There were like four guys watching the concert, and there were two bands. So there were more people playing than there were watching. (Pires)

Ocaso Épico were involved in a scene called *punk saloio*--an offshoot of early eighties experimental indie characterized by punks who (often ironically) incorporated Portuguese folkloric themes and music.[90] An offshoot of Ocaso Épico, Mler Ife Dada, did record an early indie proto-neofado track titled "Alfama" for their third album *Coisas que fascinam* (1987):

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[89] Anabela Duarte, one of the first members of Farinha´s constantly revolving cast of musicians, told me that there is an out-of-print copy of an Ocaso Épico fado track (a synth-heavy song titled "Intro") off of a compilation recorded at one of Lisbon´s first indie rock clubs, Rock Rendez Vous. Click on the band name hyperlinked above to hear Ocaso Épico´s take on fado in the track "Intro."

[90] Farinha Master formed and fronted other experimental projects such as Angra do Budismo, Zao Ten, and Gamma Ray Blast which incorporated Cordeiro's interest in Eastern medicine and music. Unfortunately, Cordeiro died around the turn of the millennium before his vanguard vision could be recognized by a wider national and international audience. Despite the profound influence of Ocaso Épico on the future Portuguese indie music scene, the one LP released by the band in 1988, *Muito Obrigado*, has never been rereleased. The original vinyl edition is extremely rare. This seems to be the unfortunate fate of many a captivating Portuguese indie album released during the seventies and eighties.

Alfama, de cacos pintados,	Alfama, made of painted shards,
de tintas e trocas	of paints and trades
e ventos no rio de pontos picantes	and sharp-pointed river winds
e pontas de faca,	and knife edges,
com laca e alpaca	with lacquer and llama
de Alfama com alma de alfalfa	from Alfama with alfalfa soul
e gente de fama que cai na galhofa	and famous people that fall fooling around
do pátio da esquina	off the corner patio
da feira da ladra,	off the flea market fair
de cacos picantes	made of spicy shards
e contas correntes, de tretas e pintas	and bullshit, blotched checking accounts
de gente com laca nas pontas da fama	of shellacked people on the edge of fame
e ventos de faca que cortam Alfama	and knife winds that cut Alfama
em portas pintadas com a fama do fado.	in doors painted with fado fame.
(Rebelo)	

The music for this song has little to do with fado, but the lyrics and vocals represent an experimental take on some of the core aspects of fado tradition. The reverb-heavy, meandering bass guitar slowly plods underneath the lyrics sung by Anabela Duarte. Duarte´s voice has all the melancholy and significance of the traditional fadista singer, each word seemingly weighed out in a long chaotic jag of dramatic melisma. The lyrics represent fado´s toponymic descriptions while they diverge from a traditional concrete-sequential phrasing. Rebelo´s stream-of-consciousness interpretation of the endless raucous nightlife found in Alfama´s (one of fado´s most quintessential districts) labyrinth urban streets is held together by a thematic frequently referencing the edge: the edge of the knife, the river´s edge, the edge of fame. It paints the neighborhood as falling apart, being chipped away by an unforgiving blade. Its stardom is precarious as well. Alfama´s world-famous celebrities are pictured at ease, over-imbibing, falling off patios and stumbling home. But their funds have run dry. It is a reference to the rowdy violence of the mid-nineteenth-century fado era in which troubadours, pimps, prostitutes, and sailors

drank, sang, and danced throughout the Alfama and the Mouraria. But it is also an accusation of fado´s conservative, orthodox decadence: Rebelo sees the fadistas of his era as depressing, lacquered souls--preserved to perform the staid routine over and over on the outskirts of an elusive fame. In the end, Alfama´s blade turns on itself.

Duarte never really gave up on fado. She would later go on to celebrate the genre´s Arabic roots through her debut solo album *Lishbunah* (1988).[91]

Anamar

Anamar´s first album for Polygram, *Almanave* (1987), is (like many of the early eighties experiments with fado created by Variações, Ocaso Épico, and Anabela Duarte) the early soul of neofado. Unfortunately, *Almanave*, similar to the work of Ocaso Épico, is still quite difficult to find. Anamar, like Farinha, Rebelo, and Duarte, comes to fado in the spirit of neofado, from outside. As such, Anamar in *Almanave*, dared to invent a new form of fado that incorporated electric guitars, the Portuguese guitar, drums, accordions, bass, and pre-programmed samples. Anamar recalls the difficulty in convincing the Lisbon public during promotional tours in support of her first album: "De alguma forma tocámos no fruto proibido e, eventualmente, viabilizámos algumas coisas a outras pessoas por ter quebrado tabus. Fizemos coisas contra uma corrente estagnada na altura. Era tabu mexer no fado...Como é que uma voz terrorista, tão fora da regra ousa tocar no fado?" (qtd. in Halpern 77) (In a way we were playing with the forbidden fruit and,

[91] Just as Rebelo would later experiment with the Portuguese guitar, Duarte would experiment with the Arabic origins of fado in this album. *Lishbunah* was an interesting experiment in that, instead of looking forward at the possibilities of renewing the fado tradition, Duarte attempted to dig into the past roots of the canon. In tracks like "Fado Português," Duarte highlights fado´s connection with the sea and the sailor in lyric, sound, and noise. Duarte´s use of melisma throughout every track of *Lishbunah* goes far beyond that of Amália in an attempt to continually underscore the Arabic roots that she considers essential to understanding the evolution of early fado.

eventually, we made some things feasible to certain people by breaking these taboos. We did things against the stagnant modus operandi of the era. It was a taboo to mess with fado. How could the voice of a terrorist, so outside the norm dare to perform inside the realm of fado?)[92]

Iberia 1990-2000

The release of Nirvana's album *Nevermind* (1991) brought indie aesthetics into the international mass media. The wild-west era of scattered DIY-minded indie bands was over. The collective toil of these early indie bands, supported by fans and entrepreneurs who helped them bit by bit build an entire independent global infrastructure with which to function outside the influence of corporate labels, was now reaping mega-profits for the indie arm of major labels.[93] Everyone wanted a share of the spoils, and so began the era of the proliferation and commodification of all things "alternative". This is a period in both countries where the international, all-inclusive reach of major label subsidiaries disguised as up-and-coming indie labels allowed for the blurring of boundaries between underground, indie, and mainstream. The result in Spain and Portugal seemed to be similar to what happened across the globe: Nearly all misfit indie subgenres--initially the sole property of the truly outcast and marginalized--became

[92] My translation of Halpern´s citation of an Anamar interview conducted by Nuno Galopim for the *Diário de Notícias* dated the 17th of May, 2003.
[93] Around the same time period, US independent film labels experienced a similar phenomenon as major Hollywood production companies began to see big dollar signs in the low-budget/relatively high-yield indie film niche markets which had been receiving increasingly more attention through annual indie film festivals such as Sundance.

commonplace commodity that could be used by any youth as a simulacrum of rebellion, progressively losing any true political (or otherwise) signifier.

Portugal

Madredeus and Sétima Legião

Fig. 9. Madredeus in Aveiro, Portugal. Photograph by J.P.Casainho, 01 August, 2005, from Wikimedia Commons, 07 June 2013.

Madredeus formed in 1985, but did not achieve international success until the early nineties. Madredeus is led by one of the founders of Faíscas, Corpo Diplomático, and Heróis do Mar, Pedro Ayres Magalhães (classical guitar). Nevertheless, the amateur fadista Teresa Salgueiro (vocals) is the iconic figure who, despite leaving Madredeus in

late 2007, still serves as a metonym for the sound and style of the group for many national and international fans.[94]

Despite the fact that Salgueiro grew up singing in the fado milieu, her vocal style for Madredeus included various non-fado influences: pop, traditional Portuguese folk, new age, and European classical music. Nevertheless, the band thematically approached the *saudoso* spirit of fado by composing a melancholic melody that accompanied lyrics referencing absence of a loved one, nostalgia, the sea, etc. The original version of Madredeus appealed to a wide variety of musical sensibilities on a global scale. They were indie, they were folk, they were classical. Madredeus quickly became the most recognizable Portuguese music act since Amália.

While contributing to Madredeus, Rodrigo Leão continued composing music for his main project, Sétima Legião, a band which likewise greatly influenced future neofado bands. Sétima Legião members, though, were themselves influenced by the late seventies English post punk scene (i.e. Joy Division and Echo & the Bunnymen). This foreign sound was tempered by the frequent adoption of the bagpipe and the accordion--instruments associated with northern Portuguese Celtic influences. Nevertheless, the Sétima Legião phenomenon could be seen as an offshoot of various prior successful UK-based Celtic folk fusion acts of the seventies. Celtic rock fusion dates back to Scottish folk rocker Donovan´s 1970 album *Open Road*. Around the same time period, the first

[94] Madredeus represents Portugal´s most successful contemporary musical export. The band has been a constant revolving door in which the nation´s most talented musicians have momentarily passed through: ex-Sétima Legião founder Rodrigo Leão (piano, synthesizer) left in 1994 and was replaced by ex-Corpo Diplomático and ex-Heróis do Mar founder Carlos Maria Trindade. Two other highly talented and versatile musicians, Francisco Ribeiro (cello) and Gabriel Gomes (accordion), left a few years later in 1997.

commercially successful Irish folk/hard rock fusion act, Thin Lizzy, began touring the UK circuit. The Celtic folk rhythmic and harmonic format seemed to easily lend itself to all sorts of style combinations: Horslips blended Celtic folk with prog rock, Clannad mixed Celtic folk with new age sounds, the Scottish-based JSD Band produced straight up Celtic folk rock, and The Pogues pushed the potential boundaries of Celtic folk, dressing it up with punk speed, snarl, lyric, and aesthetic. And yet, the *Celtibero* post punk creation of Sétima Legião was indeed unique, rooted as it was in a spatial and temporal hybridity that referenced the present-day existence of cultural influences that date back to centuries before Portugal became a nation, while also referencing the international musical influences imported by Portuguese subcultural agents at the time.

Mísia

Fig. 10. Mísia. Photograph by Philippe Agnifili, 13 November 2011, from Flickr Creative Commons, 07 June 2013.

Mísia is a prolific and eccentric fadista whom Manuel Halpern considers as the pioneer of the Novo Fado movement.[95] Mísia was born Susana Maria Alfonso de Aguiar in Porto, Portugal, in 1955. After spending her adolescent years in Porto, Mísia moved to Barcelona to study dance, following in the footsteps of her Catalan ballerina mother. She began performing fado publicly throughout Barcelona in Spanish and Catalan before gradually introducing Portuguese-language fado performances into her repertoire. In 1991, Mísia released her first album, *Mísia*, mixing pop with fado while paying tribute to her hometown in Portugal. Dedicating oneself commercially to fado-pop in 1991 represented a daring gesture since fado was still a largely unknown scene outside of Portugal and was despised by many music fans of her generation within Portugal. Yet Mísia, over the course of the nineties, was able to forge a new appreciation for fado in Spain and France, and (eventually) amongst young and old in Portugal. Over the course of the past two decades Mísia has developed a niche audience in Portugal. That said, the fadista is to this day still better-known and appreciated outside of the country than inside. Perhaps this is due to her uncommon approach to fado which is both reverent and revolutionary—a stance which tends to confuse and confound many Portuguese fans of fado. Mísia gave due respect to fado--paying homage to its iconic performers and poets in every album--while progressively integrating her own aesthetic influences which ranged from Rui Veloso and Sergio Godinho to Edith Piaf and Jacques Brel.

[95] Halpern´s focus on the Novo Fado movement in *O Futuro Da Saudade* begins with Mísia and Paulo Bragança. These two musicians represent an important influence for many neofado bands. However, just as bands like A Naifa fall out of the scope of Halpern´s intense scrutiny (he does devote a page and a half to A Naifa in the final section of his penultimate chapter), I have no intention to redundantly repeat Halpern´s rigorous exposés of these two performers, but rather to look briefly at their contribution to what would later become neofado. See Chapter Four for more information on A Naifa.

I saw Mísia perform during my fieldwork in Lisbon at the Lux Frágil club on the 17th of December, 2010. Mísia´s concert was in support of her double album, *Ruas* (2009), composed of *Lisboarium* and *Tourists*. The former includes a couple of classics made famous by Amália Rodrigues, "Que fazes aí Lisboa", and the fado-march track, "Lisboa não sejas francesa," as well as "Joana Rosa" a morna sung in Kriolu, the creole language of Cape Verde. For the second album, *Tourists*, Mísia sings in eleven different languages. The idea behind the album was to highlight her musical encounters with musicians that shared and expressed the kind of tragic fate associated with fado. Two songs in particular from the album represent an interesting foray into the kind of music I have researched for this study: "Hurt," by Trent Reznor, and "Love Will Tear Us Apart," by Ian Curtis.[96] Both Reznor and Curtis come from the very darkest side of indie, embodying a romantic authenticity of fado tragedy in life and, for Curtis, in death.[97]

Mísia´s live renditions of these songs at the Lux Frágil show were received with mixed reactions. Mísia knows her audience, a very heterogeneous crowd of young and old, and performs accordingly: Instead of mixing songs from the two albums throughout her performance, Mísia devoted the first half of the show entirely to the more traditional album *Lisboarium* before taking a short break and then performing many of the songs off of *Tourists*. Based on the conversations I had with a few different groups within the

[96] Mísia´s version of "Hurt" is actually a cover of Johnny Cash´s cover of the Reznor track. Johnny Cash´s version of "Hurt" is part of a series of album releases for American Recordings in which Cash performs minimalist renditions of songs by various musicians he admired as well as many of his own songs. The video for Cash´s "Hurt" is an arresting portrait of the singer looking back on a life filled with joy and tragedy.

[97] Reznor´s band Nine Inch Nails is associated with the industrial rock and dark ambient music scenes. The late Ian Curtis is known for his extremely depressing, Manchester-based neorealist, post-punk, and proto-gothic band Joy Division. Joy Division by no means represents the darkest side of European subcultural music production and lore, but the band is certainly as dark as UK indie gets. The night before Joy Division would leave for their first American tour, Curtis hung himself in his kitchen.

audience, some had come to appreciate the traditional fado aspects of her performance whereas others delighted in the new direction she was taking with fado. One couple came to hear the live versions of the covers on *Tourists*. Part of her audience consisted of Lisbon´s young fashionistas who came to admire her musical and sartorial performance.[98] Many audience members stuck around for the entire show, but some left after the first half. During the first set, after Mísia´s somewhat ironic performance of "Lisboa Não Sejas Francesa," an older gentleman yelled out in staccato, "Fa-Di-Sta!"[99] Mísia thanked him, replying likewise in staccato "O-Bri-Ga-Da!" (Thank-you!) He then finished his thought, "embora não queiras" (even though you don´t want to be). There was an audible groan mixed with laughter amongst several of the younger audience members around me. Mísia handled the old heckler with characteristic grace and charm stating, "quero…embora não queira" (I want [to be a fadista]…even though I don't want [to be a fadista]). Mísia, like many of the neofado musicians who would follow her, expresses this sentiment throughout every album, always with a respectful eye towards the past and a rebellious eye toward the future; a leg in fado, and a leg in its Other.

[98] Mísia´s two performances that night were accompanied by three outfit changes, according to the tone and content of each set. During the majority of her performance of *Lisboarium*, Mísia was dressed conservatively, in a black dress with a black shawl. Before the last song of this set she indicated the advent of a stylistic transition by changing into an outfit designed for her by the Lisbon-based, avant-garde fashion designer, Storytailors. Storytailors is a fashion company that also attempts to bridge worlds by blending the traditional with the contemporary, and a sartorial realism with a kind of fable/fantasy aesthetic. Mísia´s Storytailors outfit consisted of a black blouse and pink skirt with Betty Boop-style shoes, carnations, and a hat adorned with a small-scale replica of a Portuguese caravel. When she came onstage for the second half of the show, promoting *Tourists*, she wore a leopard-print fur over black leather pants, a black tuxedo jacket, a black blouse, several necklaces, sunglasses, a black scarf, and a suitcase.

[99] I say ironic performance because no other fadista in history has been so closely associated with France. Mísia has lived in France now for several years and only returns to Portugal occasionally. Her performance of a song that lyrically begs the *menina Lisboa* (little girl Lisbon) not to forget its Portuguese roots or *casar com Paris* (to marry Paris) could only be perceived with some degree of irony.

Paulo Bragança

In an attempt at an international launching of the album *Amai* (1994), David Byrne´s label, Luaka Bop, promoted Paulo Bragança as "The Portuguese punk fadista." Bragança was most certainly punk in the sense of being deliberately insulting to those guardians of traditional fado orthodoxy:

> In Portugal, I am alone. The *fadistas* are old; they won't change. There are younger singers, but they choose the easy, traditional model, because mostly they are yuppies who never have had to fight for anything…The original *fadistas* were far more punk. These new singers are only young in age. Their feelings aren't young; their ideas aren't young; they are replicas of the old thing. ("Paulo Bragança—*Amai"*)

Bragança expresses here the same sentiment that, years later, bands like Dead Combo and A Naifa, would attempt to convey musically through a sound and aesthetic that derive equally from their punk upbringings as well as their notions of the seedy underbelly of nineteenth-century fado folklore.[100]

Bragança defied many commonsense notions of what it meant to be a fadista. He distinguished himself by his dress (performing barefoot in a t-shirt and leather jacket), by his addictions (often performing high on heroin and/or other drugs), and by his political projects (i.e. dedicating entire sets to further awareness of the widespread drug problem in Lisbon). His caustic interviews did little to ingratiate him into a traditional fado milieu that, for the most part, either wanted nothing to do with him, or outright despised him for his sacrilegious performances. Bragança showed little concern for criticisms of fadista orthodoxy. He declared himself as a fadista against fado: "Aquilo que estou contra o fado é por ele estar estagnado, ser um gueto. Não acontece nada. Vai-se a uma casa de

[100] See the introduction to this book for more information on Dead Combo.

fado hoje e vai-se daí a um ano e estão lá os mesmos sarcófagos a cantar as mesmas coisas. E não deixam que ninguém mexa em nada. É uma elite de quê?" (qtd. in Halpern 141) (What I am against is stagnant fado, fado as ghetto.[101] Nothing ever happens. You can go to a *casa de fado* today and go again a year later and the same sarcophagi are there singing the same things. And they don´t let anyone play around with [any aspect of fado]. They are an elite of what again?)[102]

On the 25th of October, 1997, Bragança performed a version of the João Villaret´s classic "Fado falado" at the Centro Cultural de Belém (Belém Cultural Center) directly addressing the prevalence of heroin addiction problems in Portugal ("Paulo Bragança no CCB"). Bragança´s version of João Villaret´s, "Fado falado," exemplifies the fado punk´s concern for all aspects of his creative expression. Bragança´s revised lyrics fit with the punk fadista figure he had been cultivating. In choosing "Fado falado" to comment on the rampant drug addiction problem of nineties-era Lisbon, Bragança converts Villaret´s lyrical content to play with Villaret´s unique song form. "Fado falado" is a typical self-referential fado tale of love found, love lost, jealous rage, murderous revenge, love regained. It begins with a proposition: "Se o fado se canta e chora, também se pode falar" (If you can sing and cry fado, you can also talk fado) and ends when he asks us "E digam lá se pode ou não falar-se o fado" (Villaret) (Now tell me whether or not you can sing fado). The fast rap form does allow Villaret the ability to fit what would have been an eight minute fado into roughly half the time. Nevertheless, for

[101] Interestingly, Bragança´s complaint that orthodox fadistas were keeping fado in the ghetto would be the same attack used nearly two decades later by Ovelha Negra founder, Paulo Pedro Gonçalves, with respect to Paulo Bragança. See Chapter Two for more details.
[102] My translation of Halpern´s citation of a Paulo Bragança interview conducted by Luís Maio for *Público* dated the 10th of November, 1993.

the most part, the form only functions as a punch line to a long, albeit poetic, joke. When Bragança sings "Fado mudado," Villaret´s form functions in a drastically different manner. It becomes an essential element of the song in that Bragança embodies a drug-addled protagonist who, on a speedball high, frantically rattles off a disconnected diatribe that spins a critique of fado purity around a critique of the Lisbon drug problem, all the while telling a tale similar to that of Villaret. For brevity´s sake, I focus here only on the lyrics dealing with Bragança´s two critiques:

Se o fado se morre e chaga,	If fado can die and fester,
também se pode esfolar!	it can also be skinned alive!
Mãos de sangue	Bloody hands
na seringa,	on the syringe,
que rasgada,	so torn,
a veia pinga.	this oozing vein.
Mãos de Estado,	Government hands,
maquilhado.	pedicured.
Mãos de serra	Mountain hands
que queima a terra,	that burn the earth,
mãos bem vendidas,	sell-out hands,
muito finas,	so fine,
mãos vendadas	blindfolded hands
a arrecadar.	busy collecting taxes.
Não há paixão,	There is no passion,
crime ou morte,	crime or death,
onde há um filão	where there is a vein
a correr forte…	running strong…
E digam lá se se pode ou não	Now tell me whether or not you can
mudar o fado em Portugal.	change fado in Portugal.

Bragança casts blame in every direction throughout "Fado mudado"--each hand representing a different synechdoche of Portuguese society that the drug fiend blames for his problems. In the end (similar to the perspective of the addicted protagonist of The Velvet Underground´s "Heroin") nothing matters when he puts the spike into his vein.

Nevertheless, Bragança does hone in by the final verses on his primary targets: fadistas and fado itself.

In retrospect, Bragança´s ultimate interrogative could be considered a quite chilling rhetorical question that the musician asks himself: Can you change fado in Portugal? Can a Portuguese heroin addict change fado? Bragança once said with respect to fado, "This is my life. This is not a project. Musicians who say they are working on a project mean that they'll be doing something else in four years. I will be a Fadista until I die" ("Paulo Bragança—*Amai*"). Paulo Bragança may no longer be a fadista. In fact, few people even knew his current whereabouts at all until he briefly reemerged into the fado scene for a mysterious one-off performance. On the 15th of September, 2012, Paulo Bragança returned to the Lisbon stage in the Casa do Alentejo´s Salão dos Espelhos.[103] He apparently has been working on a new album that he plans to release in 2013.

After landing on the nineties fado scene with such impact, just to disappear without a trace for over a decade, the enigma that is Paulo Bragança will make for an interesting future study on the enduring legacy of proto-neofado that will undoubtedly help to elucidate the potential future of neofado itself: what happens when the punk fadista grows up?

Spain's Generation X

Although Spain´s indie scene was alive and well during the 1990s, much of it mimicked the Anglophone alternative rock/grunge sound: pop hooks on distorted guitars,

[103] Prior to this concert the last appearance of Paulo Bragança into the public sphere had come vis-à-vis a role as the lovestruck, unemployed sad clown, Henry, in the short, Irish avant-garde film *Henry & Sunny* (2010), written and directed by Fergal Rock.

feedback, driving drum rhythms normally keeping a steady 4/4 time, rapid and frequent shifts in dynamics, and lyrics expressing angst, ennui, esoteric knowledge, and/or apathy. The most commercially successful Spanish indie band of the era was Los Planetas, a group that sang in Spanish but was sonically indistinguishable from the burgeoning progressive rock movements associated with eighties and nineties U.S. college towns like Athens, Minneapolis, and (after the emergence of the Sub Pop-based grunge scene) Seattle. The drastic political punk of Rock Radikal Vasco and the experimental drug culture of the *movida madrileña* bohemia had mostly subsided by the nineties. These revolutionary youth movements were largely replaced by a widespread artistic vacuum, exacerbated by Anglophone cultural hegemony and a general *desencanto*. I decided to spend some time investigating the causes behind this dearth of hybrid experimentation. The paucity of proto-neoflamenco bands during nineties Spain (compared to the relative proliferation of proto-neofado bands in nineties Portugal) can best be explained vis-à-vis the sociological depiction of apathetic adolescents detailed in the 1990s gritty realism of Spanish Gen X literature.[104] A spate of Spanish novels, written by dirty realist authors (including Lucía Etxebarria, José Ángel Mañas, Ray Loriga, Care Santos, Benjamin Prado, etc.) revolve around young urban Spaniards who had become completely disconnected from Spanish culture.

[104] The Spanish Generation X movement has been referred to by various generic designators: *Realismo sucio* (dirty realism), Generación J.A.S.P. (*joven aunque sobradamente preparado*, or young but overeducated), Generación Kronen, and the blank generation (referencing the title of a song by Richard Hell and the Voidoids). These monikers describe many of the Spanish novelists of this era who were heavily influenced by the same themes found in generation X novels from North America. The term Generation X was popularized by Douglas Coupland's novel *Generation X: Tales for an Accelerated Culture* (1991), concerning young (primarily North American) adults during the 1980s.

The typical protagonist of these novels spends his or her days hooking up/taking drugs, listening to American grunge or British punk albums, reading novels by Bret Easton Ellis, shopping at thrift stores, and watching B movies, horror flicks, or snuff films.[105] The advent of MTV had quickly infused Spain with all things Anglophone. Gonzalo Navajas evaluates representations amongst Spanish Generation X authors of what Gianni Vattimo terms the "weakening of Being": "the ontological devaluation that…characterizes the core of the contemporary cultural condition" (7). The tendency of this generation is toward the negation of prior humanist philosophies without an in-depth consideration of its implications, nor any real replacement except for the *presentismo* (a living-for-the-moment lifestyle) portrayed in the daily lives of the characters in these Generation X novels. "They lack a vital project because—at least temporarily—they can afford not to have one. Their ennui and spleen are conveniently sponsored by parents who are afraid of repeating the oppressive patterns of the authoritarian society under which they suffered in their formative years" (Martín-Estudillo, "Afterword" 237). Navajas uses Carlos, the anti-hero protagonist of José Ángel Mañas´s genre-defining novel *Historias del Kronen* (1994), to portray the detachment of this type of youth from his environment and his inability to link an event or sign with its signification or ontology: [106] "Carlos observes events and situations in a neutral and remote manner

[105] The pinnacle of 1990s Spanish youth obsession with American indie is Care Santo´s *La muerte de Kurt Cobain* (1997). Sandra, the young protagonist of this novel describes herself according to a set of terms in vogue at the time which allies her with a specific global youth consciousness rooted in U.S. East Coast Straight edge: "soy abstemia. También soy vegetariana y comunista" (30) (I am abstinent. Also I am vegetarian and communist). However, Sandra´s primary fixation is not on D.C. Straight edge bands like Minor Threat but rather the Pacific Northwest grunge band Nirvana. The fifteen-year old Sandra seems to filter every experience she has through the music and life of her icon Kurt Cobain.

[106] Carlos can be seen in many ways as the pinnacle of the Spanish neo-nihilist, which perhaps contributed to the success of *Historias del Kronen* as the seminal novel of this movement. Carlos´s level of

without ever making value judgments about them and without establishing connections between those events in the present and others that happened at another time" (6). Navajas argues that this lack of philosophy with which these characters are able to interpret the symbols they encounter leads them to a limited set of expectations. The result of this interpretive deficiency can likewise be seen in the protagonist of Ray Loriga's *Héroes* (1993), who opts for a temporary erasure from society precisely because he has lost the ability to interpret the constant flow of signs which he encounters on a daily basis: "His expectations have been drastically reduced and instead of a new nation and society, he only dreams of the smallest places: 'decidí que lo único que necesitaba era una habitación pequeña donde poder buscar mis propias señales'" (Navajas 8).[107] *Presentismo* is the undemanding conclusion of a very simple theory that can be reduced to the two-word phrase most often associated with the punk rock movement, coined by the Sex Pistol, Johnny Rotten: "No Future." "Mal alimentado pero bien peinado. Sin esperanzas, sin futuro, pero con mucha clase" (Loriga 20) (Poorly fed, but well-coiffed. Without hope, without future, but with a lot of class). Or as Cristina, the protagonist from Lucía Etxebarria's *Amor, curiosidad, prozac y dudas* (1999), puts it: "Pues el futuro, no te digo. Ya verás. Casado, con hijos, con canas. Viejo y podrido" (60) (The future, well, I won´t tell you. You will see. Married, with children, with graying hair. Old and rotten).

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presentismo allowed him to culturally devolve in the midst of middle-class Spanish civilization: "Pienso en que no tengo nada que hacer durante el día. Sólo comer, dormir y cagar: está claro que el lujo es retorno al estado animal" (65) (I think about how I have nothing to do all day. Just eat, sleep, and shit: it is obvious that luxury just means a return to an animal state).

[107] Navajas translates: "I decided that the only thing I needed was to live in a small room where I could look out for my own signs" (8).

The Spanish youth depicted in these novels are not only defined by the British punk stance of "no future" but are in many ways devoid as well of a past with which to draw from. The reality of the causes and effects of their *presentismo* are succinctly outlined by Cristina Moreiras-Menor: "Una realidad…constituida por la acumulación masiva de información, por la instantaneidad, por su imposibilidad de, debido a esa instantaneidad informática y visual, hacerse memoria e historia. La realidad mediatizada, el instante del suceso, es lo que se constituye en estos textos como historia, como la historia del presente" (202) (A reality…constituted by the massive accumulation of information--by the instantaneity--by the adolescent´s inability, due to the immediacy of such information and imagery, to record memory and history. Mediated reality--the instantaneous event--is what constitutes history in these texts, a history of the present). The inability to process the massive quantity of information produced by the new media culture had left this generation in a state of existential paralysis, denied and denying any temporal space except for the ephemeral present.[108] The subsequent detachment from past or future events is further complicated by the generation Xer's inability to experience any reality "desde su propia existencia; ésta solo llega al sujeto contemporáneo a través de la mediación de la pantalla. Y la pantalla se convierte así no

[108] Nevertheless an interesting counterpoint to this depiction of the Spanish generation X male youth's *presentismo* can be found in several female protagonists that often seem absorbed in their own past. Two of Etxebarria´s protagonists, the sisters Rosa and Ana in *Amor, curiosidad, prozac y dudas*, are intensely nostalgic. Likewise, Bea, in the Mañas novel *Mensaka* (1995) seems to have an almost diametrically opposite relation with respect to the past and future as seen in her frequent nostalgia: "La foto nos la hicimos un verano hace ya seis años. Parecemos tan jóvenes, tan llenos de vida" (38) (The photo we took one summer six years ago. We seemed so young, so full of life). "La casa de mis padres me hace acordarme de cuando era pequeña, cuando mi mundo era una casa, un jardín y un colegio. Cuando todo parecía posible, cuando soñaba con ser una princesa" (110) (My parent´s house reminds me of when I was young, when my world was a house, a garden, a school. When everything seemed possible; when I dreamed of being a princess).

únicamente en la propia realidad sino en el medio desde el cual mirarla y, por tanto, articularla" (Moreiras-Menor 203) (from his own existence, reality comes to the contemporary subject only via the screen. And the screen thus becomes not only itself a solitary reality, but also the medium from which to perceive and therefore articulate said reality).

The philosophical emptiness found amongst the Spanish youth society portrayed in many of these novels is accompanied by a further void, that of religion. The rapid decline in the import of religious values started before the death of the dictator Francisco Franco in 1975, but it seemed to have culminated during the period of *desencanto* of nineties Spain. What was to replace the spiritual and philosophical chasm left by this combined rejection? As many Generation X authors saw it, the answer would be sex, drugs, violence, and imported culture.[109] The Gen X protagonists´ distaste for religion, or their displacement of it for drugs and raves or rock and roll, is a realist depiction of many 1990s Spanish youths´ outright rejection of a (priorly) very important national value: "In 1970 the overwhelming majority of Spaniards regarded themselves as practicing Catholics (87 per cent), while in 1991 the figure had fallen to less than half the population (49 per cent). Spain is no longer the classic ultra-Catholic country of the past" (Montero, "Political Transition" 316). Gaizka, one of three narrators in Benjamin Prado's *Nunca le des la mano a un pistolero zurdo* (Never Shake Hands with a Left-Handed Gunman) (1999) compares prayer to just another form of gambling. In Lucía

[109] In the words of Etxebarria's protagonist Cristina: "Mis temas favoritos (música, hombres, drogas, libros, cine, psicokillers, realismo sucio)" (*Amor, curiosidad* 87) (My favorite topics: music, men, drugs, books, movies, psychokillers, and dirty realism).

Etxebarria's *Amor, curiosidad, prozac y dudas*, the narrator describes the rave scene vis-à-vis the religious signifiers of Catholicism as a return to tribal tendencies in which "moment time" is felt by all and raises the hedonistic event of vapid ravers to the sublime transcendence of a spiritual happening:

> En la pista la masa baila en comunión, al ritmo de un solo latido, una sola música, una sola droga, una única alma colectiva. El DJ es el nuevo mesías; la música, la palabra de Dios; el vino de los cristianos ha sido sustituido por el éxtasis y la iconografía de las vidrieras por los monitores de televisión. Es el regreso del tribalismo ancestral, heredado genéticamente, dicen, en el inconsciente colectivo. (42)
>
> (On the dance floor the masses dance in communion with the rhythm of one beat, one music, one drug, one collective soul. The DJ is the new messiah; music, the word of God; the Christians' wine has been replaced by ecstasy and the iconography of the [stained-glass] windows with TV monitors. It is the return of ancestral tribalism, genetically inherited, they say, in the collective unconscious.)

It is a replacement of one religion for another, where the god is the drug, the music, or the rock and roll star. The antihero protagonist of Spanish Gen X author Ray Loriga's novel *Héroes* (1993) has no intention of ever leaving his room, but if he ever did—he muses--he would not walk out the door as the empty nobody he knows he is. He would hit the street as Jim Morrison: "Sentirte como Jim Morrison no te convierte en Jim Morrison, pero no sentirte como Jim Morrison te convierte en casi nada" (73) (Feeling like Jim Morrison doesn't turn you into Jim Morrison, but not feeling like Jim Morrison turns you into practically nothing). It is a religion in which all experienced states of altered consciousness are welcome in order to avoid the vacuous sense of being nobody.

The Anglophone rock star then is the icon that gives meaning to life for the Spanish urban youth depicted in these novels, while serving as a beacon of how superficial and meaningless that very epitome of living actually is. The rock star is a god

that cares for his creation, and whose musical creation can be considered the pillar of faith: "David Bowie es el único capaz de liberarte del pánico. Lleva mucho tiempo cuidando de todos los ángeles y puede cuidar de nosotros si aprendemos a confiar en las canciones" (Loriga 37) (David Bowie is the only one capable of freeing you from your panic. He has spent much time taking care of all the angels, and he can take care of us if we learn to have faith in his songs). References to the local rock scene are scarce, and references to Spain itself are presented with a fair amount of disgust: "es importante destacar que me cuesta casi tanto decir España como me cuesta decir el nombre de mi madre, lo cual al fin y al cabo justifica la aparición de ambas en mis peores sueños" (Loriga 26) (It is important to note that it pains me as much to say Spain as it does to say the name of my mother, thus justifying the appearance of both in my worst nightmares).

The twenty-first-century neoflamenco bands that make up the remainder of this study stand in stark contrast to this generation. They do not scurry from the national imagery as do the protagonists of nineties Spanish Gen X novels, but confront it, embrace it, and rearticulate it. The Generation X writers who depicted a desperate and empty turn-of-the-millennium Spanish youth essentially relied upon a foreign literary genre (Anglophone dirty realism) to describe a foreign invasion (Anglophone cultural hegemony) of which they themselves were victims. As Portuguese indie and fado composers began to toy with traditional sounds and styles throughout the nineties, the same generation of Spanish indie musicians began to regress with respect to national identification. This is not to say that all Spanish rockers dropped flamenco from their musical palette in the nineties. It was rather simply drowned out within the indie scene

by the much more prevalent Anglophone sound. The following section explores a handful of critically successful proto-neoflamenco approaches during this time period. I begin with, arguably, the most influential contribution to the twenty-first-century indie neoflamenco scene: flamenco icon Enrique Morente´s collaboration with the band Largatija Nick on the album *Omega* (1996).

The Omega of Proto-Neoflamenco…and Prometheus Bound

Enrique Morente and Largatija Nick´s *Omega*

Fig. 11. Enrique Morente at the Palau de la Música Catalana on March 13th, 2009. Photograph by Kadellar, from Wikimedia Commons, 07 June 2013.

The story behind the album *Omega* is as surreal as is the recording itself. Enrique Morente, the preeminent flamenco musician of the era, had been prone to controversy since the early 1970s due to his often unorthodox approach to, and outright defiance of,

traditional flamenco practice.[110] Morente had long respected the two poets to whom he pays tribute in *Omega*: Federico Garcia Lorca and Leonard Cohen. However, the dual-homage album itself came about somewhat accidentally. Morente had contacted Leonard Cohen in 1993 through the help of Cohen´s Spanish translator, Alberto Manzano. During their encounter, Morente began to consider creating a flamenco adaptation of his favorite Cohen songs. Around the same time period, some of Morente´s indie friends, who made up the band Lagartija Nick, were considering a project that would pay homage to Lorca.[111] They met up and decided to combine the two projects into one: "Ellos serían el ruido de la gran ciudad y Morente sería la voz de la sangre" (Saavedra 168) ([Lagartija Nick] would represent big city noise while Morente would be the voice of blood). It was a match made in heaven for the future fans of neoflamenco, and an unreal excursion into heresy for mid-nineties orthodox fans of traditional flamenco and traditional indie. Many of the Spanish indie fans who loved the music of Leonard Cohen were completely

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[110] In 1971, Morente recorded *Homenaje flamenco a Miguel Hernández*, adapting *poesía culta* to flamenco rhythms and structures which, although common in the popular singer-songwriter style of the era, was unheard of in the world of orthodox flamenco. In addition, the poet to whom Morente gave homage during this and subsequent albums, Miguel Hernández, was an anti-franquista symbol par excellence. Hernández was a poet from the Spanish generation of 1927, who campaigned through his poetry for the Republic during the Spanish Civil War. Hernández was incarcerated by the victorious Franco regime until he succumbed to tuberculosis in 1942.

Half a decade later, Morente would begin work on another unorthodox homage, the 1977 album *Homenaje a Don Antonio Chacón*. Morente vindicated in this homage the figure of the flamenco singer Antonio Chacón. Chacón was the creator of the *granaína palo*, and a fundamental figure for flamenco during the pre-war decades of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, Chacón was considered by the followers of Mairenista flamencology (most prevalent during the 1950s and 1960s) as a representative of the impure *payo* influence on true flamenco. Morente continued to risk his reputation within the orthodox flamenco scene for decades, finally emerging by the 1990s as a universally respected visionary for flamenco tradition. His 1996 collaboration with Largatija Nick on this project can be seen as just one more step in the guise of a continual direct challenge to traditional flamenco orthodoxy.

[111] Largatija Nick is a Spanish indie band which took its name from a 1983 single by the English gothic/post punk band, Bauhaus. Lagartija Nick formed in Granada in 1991, primarily influenced by the U.S. punk, alternative rock, and grunge scenes of the late eighties and early nineties. The former drummer for Largatija Nick, Eric Jiménez now plays for a popular Spanish indie band of similar origins, Los Planetas. See Chapter Three for more on Los Planetas and their approach toward indie flamenco (which also includes collaborations with Morente).

puzzled as to what this Canadian singer-songwriter had to do with Lorca or flamenco. However, those who were fans of both Cohen and Lorca knew that Leonard Cohen had been heavily influenced by Lorca since his mid-teens. Cohen had actually gone so far as to create his own homage to Lorca by loosely translating and composing a waltz to the Lorca poem "Pequeño vals vienés," ("Take This Waltz") from the posthumously published collection of poems, *Poeta en Nueva York* (1940), scribed by Lorca primarily during his stint at Columbia University from 1929 to 1930. The cover of "Pequeño vals vienés" by Morente and Largatija Nick (the second song on the *Omega* album) functions as a link for fans of Lorca and Cohen alike since it stays mostly true to the lyrics of Lorca and the music of Cohen. Eight tracks on *Omega* are dedicated to Lorca´s *Poeta en Nueva York*. In addition to "Pequeño vals vienés," three other Cohen songs are rewritten to conform to flamenco *palos* on the *Omega* album "Aleluya" ("Hallelujah Noº 2"), "Manhattan" ("First We Take Manhattan"), and "Sacerdote" ("Priest").

The album as a whole seems to lyrically stay true to a *duendesque* poetic vision which Lorca and Cohen shared.[112] *Omega* is awash with white noise that floats amorphously beneath rhythmic clapping (*palmas*) and spurts of occasionally fascinating, occasionally forgettable, flamenco guitar interruptions. Morente´s warble, when not drowned out by feedback, is haunting and desperate in its immediacy. The collaboration achieved an influential cohesion for indie and flamenco aesthetics, harmonizing the sonic rawness of Sonic Youth-style overdriven cacophony with the gritty desperation of *cante jondo* vocals and poetics.

[112] See Chapter Four's analysis of the indie electronic neoflamenco band El Ultimo Grito for more on a similar mystical duendesque poetic vision.

Ojos de Brujo

Fig. 12. Marina 'la Canillas' of Ojos de Brujo. Photograph by Axelv, 29 February 2008, from Wikimedia Commons, 05 June 2013.

Ojos de Brujo was founded in 1996 in Barcelona. They released their first album, *Vengue*, in 1999, a hybrid style combination of flamenco with rap, dub, ska, salsa, hip hop, reggae, Cuban son, and Catalan rumba. Given that none of the nine musicians that make up Ojos de Brujo come originally from the world of traditional flamenco, I could also have included them in the main text of this study as a neoflamenco band, but opted instead to highlight a lesser known band that shares with Ojos de Brujo a similar sound, rhythm, style, and lyrical thematic: Canteca de Macao.[113] Both Canteca de Macao and

[113] See Chapter Four for more on Canteca de Macao. Ojos de Brujo is composed of ex-punks (i.e. Marina Abad), ex-metalheads (i.e. Ramón Giménez), gypsies (Ramón Giménez) and *payos* (everyone else). In 2005, they created their own DIY record label, Diquela. (That said, both Canteca de Macao and Ojos de Brujo have distributed their albums via the major label Warner, but claim that Warner had not meddled at all in their creative work). Given the origins, originality, and longevity of Ojos de Brujo, they could also be considered the pioneers of indie neoflamenco (as opposed to Pony Bravo). I chose to highlight Pony Bravo as the generic pioneers due to their comparatively higher level of "indieness" in relation to Wendy Fonarow´s five categories of authentic indie practice (see the Introduction for more information on Fonarow´s definitions). Whatever the case, they are certainly a very influential band for the neoflamenco movement.

Ojos de Brujo blend diverse, but parallel musical traditions. Both integrate flamenco palos into rhythmic structures that are traditionally rather inflexible (i.e. ska and reggae). Both bands sport a look traditionally associated with the Spanish *perroflauta* (gutter punk) subculture. Both Canteca de Macao and Ojos de Brujo lyrically engage current socio-political issues through descriptions characteristic of social realism. Ojos de Brujo songs like "El confort no reconforta" echo the anti-megacorporate stance of Canteca de Macao. Both bands see the world from the margins, the perspective of the outcast. Ojos de Brujo empathize with the marginalized Barcelona immigrant on tracks like "Baraka" (from their 2009 release *Aocaná*). The imagery of Ojos de Brujo lyrics is likewise similar to that of Canteca de Macao. Both bands tend to constantly reiterate certain words that imagine the mystical and natural world underlying flamenco *duende*: blood ("Naita"), dreams/nightmares ("Piedras vs. tanques"), wind/earth/fire ("Quien engaña no gana"), sea/sky/stars/moon ("Tócale ya"). In contrast to Canteca de Macao, Ojos de Brujo songs frequently delve into the meta-flamenco or meta-*palo* (i.e. "Cale barí," "Tanguillos marineros," "Sultanas de merkaillo," "Ventilaor rumba 80," and "Tiempo de soleá"). These tracks encourage the listener to become immersed in the flamenco world of yesteryear, to move to a lost cadence, to shoot up the *jiphop flamenquillo*. The prolific output of Ojos de Brujo makes for a rich reading in indie neoflamenco music, style, and semiotic which merits a book in and of itself that I hope to undertake sometime in the future.

Mártires del Compás

Chico Ocaña, voice and co-founder of the flamenco-billy band Mártires del Compás, was born in San Roque (Cádiz), Andalusia in 1957.[114] Ocaña was raised in San Roque during a time period in which it was often difficult to hear anything but flamenco in the area. Franco´s cultural autarky program provided little escape from this traditional music, especially in Andalusia. From a young age, Ocaña was curious to discover new sounds. Lucky for him, the airwaves of Gibraltar Radio (emanating from the British overseas territory of Gibraltar) did not respect national boundaries. San Roque is situated a short way inland of the north side of the Bay of Gibraltar, just to the north of the Gibraltar peninsula. As such, Ocaña was able to tap into a diverse set of musical repertoires that would influence his musical palette from the early sixties on. Ocaña moved to Sevilla in 1983 and started to perform traditional flamenco, progressively incorporating local blues and rock performers into his live repertoire (Manjavacas).

Chico Ocaña began experimenting with traditional flamenco lyrics before attempting to set a rockabilly sound to traditional flamenco rhythms. After years of trial and error, and with the help of Kiko Veneno, Ocaña formed Mártires del Compás in 1992. Mártires del Compás released their first two albums, *Flamenco billy* (1995) and *Prohibido dá el cante* (1996), on the tiny Seville-based independent label, CPS, before signing with BMG Ariola. Although Veneno helped to form the band, artistic differences would result in a rift that divided the group between Kiko and Chico. Ocaña´s Mártires

[114] Flamenco-billy is a hybrid style combination of flamenco and rockabilly. Rockabilly is itself a hybrid mix of rock & roll and "hillbilly" music which dates back to the early 1950s. The term hillbilly is a reference to forties- and fifties-era country music, but rockabilly blends more than just rock and country. Other influences include Appalachian folk and western swing. The first band to mix the two hybrid music traditions of flamenco and rockabilly was Mártires del Compás.

del Compás continued to release albums throughout the nineties while another half of the original group, Caraoscura (formed by Kiko Veneno, Raúl Rodríguez, and José Caraoscura) released only one album, in 1995, titled *¿Qué es lo que quieres de mí?* Mártires del Compás finally split up in 2007 after releasing seven albums under various labels.[115]

And The List Goes On…

There are several nineties bands that continued in the vein of their Nuevo Flamenco predecessors. The following groups achieved varying degrees of critical acclaim by mixing flamenco with other non-autochthonous musical traditions over the course of the nineties and early noughties. They deserve mention due to their contribution to what would become indie neoflamenco: La Barbería del Sur (flamenco, pop, funk, and jazz), Maíta Vende Cá (flamenco, rumba, samba, jazz, reggae, contemporary world music, pop), Javier Ruibal (flamenco, Maghreb, rock, jazz), Navajita Plateá (flamenco, pop, rock, easy listening), El Barrio (flamenco, light pop), and Radio Tarifa (flamenco, Sephardic, Al-Andalus, and various North African folk music traditions).

[115] The Chico Ocaña bio provided in the interview cited above (redacted by Rafael Manjavacas) makes for an interesting study into the seepage of media into closed societies. The Gibraltar radio station that so influenced the musical habitus of Ocaña is a function of the global flows of the mid-twentieth-century mediascapes. Franco couldn´t control it, and Ocaña would later use it to confront the last vestiges of the Franco legacy in eighties and nineties Spain. That said, I was reluctant to include Mártires del Compás in this review. I have a difficult time discerning the *billy* in this flamenco-billy band. I have listened to several Mártires del Compás albums, and, aside from the walking bass line so characteristic of rockabilly, I hear very little that references this sound. Perhaps this is a result of a conflict arising from my position as somewhat emic with respect to rockabilly culture and somewhat etic with respect to flamenco culture. I used to play in a rockabilly band in Minneapolis. As such, I was very excited to hear Mártires del Compás when I discovered that they founded flamenco-billy. I was disappointed when I listened to the albums. They sounded to me to be not all that different from the kind of music that had previously been recorded by Kiko Veneno, Pata Negra, and Ketama. I plan to keep researching the music of Mártires del Compás, but, for now, I remain unconvinced. I include the band in this section primarily because of the importance ascribed to them within the field of Nuevo Flamenco by Spanish music critics.

Continuity is the key word for many of the hybrid flamenco fusion albums released within and without Mario Pacheco´s Nuevo Flamenco label Nuevos Medios. For indie neoflamenco bands performing today, these releases function as a snapshot of a specific era of flamenco hybrid musical creation to which they can look to draw stylistic inspiration. However, the hybrid flamenco-soft rock sound that Nuevos Medios tended to produce over the eighties and nineties was not palatable for the young turn-of-the-millenium Spanish youth that had been raised on a steady diet of Nirvana, Sonic Youth, and Fugazi. They wanted noise. They wanted a beat to which they could dance frenetically. They wanted cacophony, feedback, and heavy bass. They wanted guitar riffs so angular as to cut. They wanted to sing to lyrics that weren´t chock full of embarrassing clichés and platitudes on love and love lost. They wanted to sing to lyrics that referenced the flamenco of yesteryear—full of grit, grift, and *gritos*. They wanted post punk, electronica, rap, garage, and hip hop. They wanted bands like Pony Bravo, El Ultimo Grito, and La Shica. They wanted indie neoflamenco.

Paco de Lucía and Camarón de la Isla still maintain an iconic status for twenty-first-century indie neoflamenco bands. They are Prometheus. They delivered a fire from the gods of *duende* with which to reignite the flamenco fire that had died under Franco´s *españolada*. This flamenco flame survived the drastic paradigm shifts wrought by the *movida madrileña* culture of the eighties and the imported Anglophone alternative culture of the nineties. But, by the end of the nineties, it was again slowly dying. Flamenco fusion musicians could no longer lay the blame for this phenomenon on a dictatorial hegemony. Nuevo Flamenco killed itself as it desperately attempted to capture a niche

within the global music market by producing easily digestible, innocuous music—a flamenco "lite". And thus, the *duende* fire became stale, tired, and nearly extinguished. The question for the generation of neoflamenco musicians that I analyze in the following chapters was rooted in how to regenerate a tradition that had effectively already died twice over the course of their lifetime. Indie neoflamenco musicians turned back to their Prometheus, Paco de Lucía, for guidance: "Yo siempre tuve la sensación de que había que respetar las tradiciones, pero no obedeciéndolas con una fe ciega. Tratando de exprimir tu época, de estar en el momento en que vives, con todas las músicas que oyes, toda la evolución, y siempre, siempre, sin perder esa esencia, esa fuerza, esa personalidad que tiene el flamenco" (qtd. in Gamboa, *Una historia del flamenco* 83) (I always had the sensation that one had to respect the traditions, but one did not have to obey them with a blind faith. Trying to extract [the spirit] of your era, of being in the moment in which you exist, with all of the music that you listen to, all of the evolution, and always, always, without losing this essence, this force, this personality of flamenco). This understanding of the self--within the global music synchronic, and within the traditional flamenco diachronic--is the fundamental nature of twenty-first-century indie neoflamenco creative expression.

The following chapter bridges the musical production of the proto-neofado groups highlighted above with that of the indie electronic neofado originator Ovelha Negra. Throughout Chapter Two I consider the parallel trajectory of two Portuguese neofado musicians who spent the entirety of their adolescence as expatriates: Paulo Pedro Gonçalves (Ovelha Negra) and Viviane Parra (Viviane). Although Gonçalves and Parra

grew up outside of Portugal, they did not grow up outside of fado—some of the earliest memories of both musicians involve fado recordings and performances which had been imported by their family, friends, neighbors, and other members of their respective Portuguese diasporic communities. I investigate how the founder of Ovelha Negra, Paulo Pedro Gonçalves, evolved musically as a Portuguese expat boy in Toronto, as an expat young adult in England, and as a repatriated punk, post-punk, and new romantic in Lisbon, finally recording the first successful indie neofado record during the late 1990s. I compare Gonçalves´s habitus with that of ex-Entre Aspas vocalist, Viviane Parra, herself a Portuguese expat who grew up in France listening to recordings of Amália Rodrigues, Carlos do Carmo, and, later, Mler Ife Dada. Both musicians evidence the way in which the Portuguese notion of *saudade* reaches beyond borders. The unusual stance of both expatriates points, moreover, toward a greater readiness to embrace this *saudade*, this Portuguese self, this national pride which their peers (who had grown up in Portugal under Salazar) were trying desperately to reject, or forget entirely.

Chapter 2
Habitus, Nostalgia, and Deterritorialization in Neofado

Table 2
Ovelha Negra and Viviane: Members, Dates, Places, Albums, Sub-Genres, and Influences

Band Name (Location, Year Formed)	Members (Instruments)	Albums (Label, Year Published)	Sub-Genres	Primary Influences
Ovelha Negra (Lisbon, 1998)	Paulo Pedro Gonçalves (vocals, guitar, accordion, harmonica, stylophone), Miguel Gameiro (vocals, guitar), João Ferreira Gomes (keyboard, beats), Rita Guerra (vocals), José Nobre da Costa (Portuguese guitar), Francisco Gonçalves (acoustic bass), Nuno Roque (electric bass), and Jamie Fraser Keddie (drums)	*Por este andar ainda acabo a morrer em Lisboa* (BMG, 1998); *Ilumina* (Eter Music, 2012)	Fado, Indie Rock, Punk, Post-Punk, Experimental Electronic, Blues, Americana, Folk	Amália Rodrigues, Edith Piaf, Leonard Cohen, Tom Waits, Aphex Twin, Bob Dylan, Joy Division, The Rat Pack, Burt Bacharach, Tom Jobim, Muddy Waters, PJ Harvey, Captain Beefheart
Viviane (Tavira, Portugal, 2005)	Viviane Parra (vocals, flute), Tó Viegas (Portuguese guitar, guitar), Marco Martins (acoustic bass), Sónia Cabrita (drums), Jorge Caeiro (accordion), Fernando Esteves (acoustic guitar)	*Amores imperfeitos* (Zipmix Records, 2005); *Viviane* (Zipmix Records, 2007); *As pequenas gavetas do amor* (Zipmix Records, 2011)	Fado, Indie Pop, Chanson, Tango	Mler Ife Dada, Édith Piaf, Amália Rodrigues, Carlos Gardel

This chapter explores the unlikely blend of Portuguese indie rock and fado. As opposed to the comparative pan-Iberian focus comprising the majority of this study, my focus here is limited to just two Portuguese neofado musicians, Paulo Pedro Gonçalves and Viviane Parra. In addition to these two neofadistas, I also consider the Celtic punk musician, Shane MacGowan. I argue that the artistic careers in hybrid music of all three were enabled by a particular kind of expatriate upbringing.

In order to understand why Portuguese indie rock is such an unlikely match for fado, one should compare the genesis of indie neofado with that of indie neoflamenco in light of recent Iberian history. Prior to the release of the Enrique Morente and Largatija Nick collaboration, *Omega* (1996), Spanish indie rockers had been largely ambivalent to flamenco for decades. There did not exist some deeply ingrained hatred of flamenco by practitioners of Spanish indie music, but rather a simple disinterest in national culture.[116] There is an antagonistic relationship between fado and indie which does not exist between flamenco and indie. As the neoflamenco performer La Shica explained it to me, no one winces when a musician like her references flamenco because it had primarily been seen as a music of the people. But doesn't the concept of flamenco as "a music of the people" agree precisely with the reductionist cultural policies of Franco? And then how is there any difference in the concept of music of the people when one speaks of flamenco under Franco and fado under Salazar?

To answer this, one must consider the ways in which fado and flamenco were generally perceived during the respective dictatorships. Franco used flamenco and

[116] See Chapter One for more information on the album *Omega* and Spanish indie culture in the nineties. During my fieldwork in Madrid I frequently asked indie musicians and fans what they thought about flamenco in general. Based on the brief responses I received from various generations of indie *madrileños*, I gathered a rough idea of how flamenco has been perceived by subsequent generations of Spanish indie kids from the transition era on:
1. As a backward, but innocuous expression of Spanish culture from a bygone era.
2. As a mind-numbingly boring musical expression.
3. As an extremely impressive art form.
4. As a scene which effectively died with Camarón de la Isla.
5. As a regressive cultural form that would hopefully one day perish with the bullfight and the conservatives.
6. As a fundamental element defining national culture, past and present.
7. As a music form in which performers seem to make it up as they go along which, according to one indie music fan, is an impressive feat for flamenco guitarists but not for flamenco singers.
8. And finally, as a music that might be interesting to experiment with.

Andalusian culture in general to export an essentializing image of a country that was in no way uniform. The export of flamenco as *the* music of Spain was seen in regions outside of Andalusia and Madrid as just one aspect of the dictator's coercive and oppressive cultural policy—all other regions already had their own musical cultures distinct from flamenco. However, most flamenco musicians were generally not perceived by the Spanish populace as complicit in Franco's agenda, as was the case for many of the fadista stars under Salazar. There were certain flamenco icons of the era involved in what was derogatorily referred to as *nacional-flamenquismo* (i.e. Pepe Marchena) who represented a version of flamenco that was more operatic than *jondo*, more *payo* than gypsy, and more conservative in nature.[117] These musicians were later rejected as not really flamenco to begin with. The flamenco singer and flamencologist António Mairena would redeem flamenco in the fifties and afterward by rejecting flamenco opera and distinguishing the "true flamenco *palos*" which were gypsy in origin. There existed from that point on a historical dichotomy of *nacional-flamenquismo* as music of the regime, and true flamenco as music of the (especially gypsy) people. Fado was never able to establish such dichotomies because it lacked some original version derived from ethnic difference prior to Salazar´s co-optation with which to revert to. That is, there was no "true fado" of the people that was easily

[117] *Jondo* is an Andalusian appropriation of the Spanish word *hondo* (deep, profound). The term originally referred to a set of more "serious" flamenco *palos—tonás*, *martinetes*, *seguiriyas*, *soleares*, etc. It now is attributed to the interpretation of any given flamenco style, rather than the *palo* itself: "El estilo más jondo puede ser interpretado de forma totalmente superficial, y el más liviano de la forma más profunda y emotiva" (Gamboa and Nuñez 311) (The most *jondo* of flamenco *palos* can be interpreted with utmost superficiality, and the lightest of flamenco forms with the most profound and emotive force).
Payo is the *caló* (gypsy slang) word for non-gypsies.

distinguishable from the fado under Salazar.[118] Contrary to flamenco under Franco, there did not exist some racially distinct community of "true fadistas" who continued to practice in private, small communal or familial gatherings during the Salazar dictatorship. And so the greatest fadistas of the Estado Novo era were considered wholesale as tools of Salazar. Fado was considered tainted as music of the dictatorship by the more liberal post-revolution Portuguese populations. From 1974 on, fado would carry the mark of a political sensibility antithetical to the indie ethos.

Whereas late twentieth-century Spanish indie youth had been largely apathetic with respect to flamenco, their Portuguese contemporaries absolutely *hated* fado. This antagonistic relationship is not yet totally resolved. Neofado bands still feel the need to pull fado back from the dominant death grip of the Salazar regime. Their music has slowly chipped away at the imaginary wall that separates fado from indie. Bit by bit, they have made fado an acceptable aesthetic for Portuguese hipsters. However, in doing so, these musicians risk whatever cultural and symbolic capital they had accrued as punks and indie rockers prior to their neofado project. How were they able to do this? I will argue that indie rock and fado were made compatible only through the cultivation of a certain kind of aesthetic habitus via two musicians raised in rather unusual—but strikingly similar—situations. Specifically, I argue that Paulo Pedro Gonçalves and Viviane Parra, two of the founders of indie neofado, were able to bring fado to an indie

[118] As I discuss in Chapter Four, the rampant professionalization of fado, beginning decades prior to the establishment of the Estado Novo, meant that those who could have potentially been considered "true fadistas"—the early twentieth century leftist/worker's oriented fado, as well as those marginalized, misfit, vagabond performers that haunted Alfama and the Mouraria during the last half of the nineteenth century—had all but vanished long before the rise of Salazar.

rock audience because of their sensibilities toward fado--which were cultivated during their expatriate childhoods.

The First Hybrids

As we saw in the prior chapter, a handful of indie approximations referencing Portuguese urban folk music precede Ovelha Negra´s album. Over the course of the eighties and nineties, Portuguese indie musicians such as António Variaçoes, Nuno Rebelo, Anabela Duarte, Carlos Cordeiro, and Anamar did attempt musical approximations which alluded to, and occasionally fully embraced fado music.[119] Nevertheless, it wasn´t until Paulo Pedro Gonçalves´s band Ovelha Negra produced the album *Por este andar ainda acabo a morrer em Lisboa* (1998), that neofado found a cult audience, and the indie neofado scene was truly born.[120] No indie musician so thoroughly integrated fado into the world of electronic indie music as did Paulo Pedro Gonçalves. In this chapter I explore Gonçalves´s background in relation to the historic reluctance of other Portuguese indie musicians to incorporate fado music into their repertoire. Gonçalves was well-positioned to see the hybrid potential of a traditional music practice that was largely dismissed by other national indie musicians at the time as stale and regressive.

The following section of this chapter deals with the similar habitus of the neofadista Viviane Parra. The neofado band led by Viviane Parra, Viviane, produces a

[119] Most especially ex-Mler Ife Dada vocalist Anabela Duarte. Duarte´s album *Lishbunah* precedes Ovelha Negra´s debut release by a decade. Although Duarte can indeed be considered an indie musician who worked with fado traditions, her ambitions for *Lishbunah* were oriented exclusively toward exploring the Arabic roots of fado instead of toward creating a hybrid sound combining an indie subgenre with fado.
[120] The title of this album translates roughly to "Despite my path, I still end up dying in Lisbon."

music that embraces and glorifies Portugal´s historical position as actively hybrid: A Portuguese plasticity which has incorporated such diverse European, African, Asian, and American cultures with ease and pleasure. Viviane currently performs the national cultural work of spreading such goodwill across Portugal, even as the theaters and festivals which used to host her band in prior years have shut down now indefinitely due to recent austerity measures. Parra, like Gonçalves, was born and raised outside of Portugal by parents that instilled in their child a love for their homeland culture. When Parra finally moved to Portugal as a young adult, she, like Gonçalves, initially founded an indie band. Both musicians would eventually establish a neofado band, Gonçalves as the generic pioneer, and Parra as an early adopter.

The indie neofado scene that Gonçalves and Parra here represent is actively challenging the facile binary that equates fado with Portugal and indie rock with culture abroad. Traditional Lisbon fado has always been founded on leaving home and was always suffused with a longing for a distant beloved. *Saudade* is a sentiment perfectly suited to expatriates. The lyrics penned by Parra and Gonçalves allow us to examine how nostalgia manifests itself in indie, fado, and neofado. Nostalgia is pervasive in their compositions, perhaps due to the conventionality of this sentiment in both traditions. I begin this chapter with a consideration of the two nostalgias that underpin current indie neofado practice.

The Restorative and Reflective Roots of Indie Neofado Nostalgia

Svetlana Boym distinguishes between two kinds of nostalgias by dividing the word itself in half: *restorative* nostalgia which revolves around the *nostos* (Greek for homecoming) and *reflective* nostalgia which wallows in the *algia* (Greek for longing):

> Restorative nostalgia stresses *nostos* and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home. Reflective nostalgia thrives in *algia*, the longing itself, and delays the homecoming—wistfully, ironically, desperately. Restorative nostalgia does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition. Reflective nostalgia dwells on the ambivalences of human longing and belonging and does not shy away from the contradictions of modernity. Restorative nostalgia protects the absolute truth, while reflective nostalgia calls it into doubt. (xviii)

Boym considers restorative nostalgia via Eric Hobsbawn's (1983) differentiation between the invariable nature of age-old "customs" and the symbolic formalization and ritualizing nature inherent in nineteenth-century "invented traditions": "the more rapid and sweeping the pace and scale of modernization, the more conservative and unchangeable the new traditions tend to be" (Boym 42). During the era of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century industrialization and secularization, Spain and Portugal's urban citizens would seek a sort of cultural anchor through invented traditions to balance the disease of neurasthenia and the loss of social and spiritual meaning. Twentieth-century Iberia is rife with such invented traditions. The Franco and Salazar dictatorships would, respectively, use flamenco and fado for their own ends--as an ideological tool for political acquiescence. Both dictators disseminated a selective restorative nostalgia through the manipulation of urban folk traditions to represent the past "through newly recreated practices of national commemoration with the aim of reestablishing social cohesion,

[thereby creating] a sense of security and an obedient relationship to authority" (Boym 42).

The flipside of restorative nostalgia is the secular transformation of fatality into continuity. This is seen in indie neofado's reflective nostalgia which, by combining such disparate musical traditions, attempts to offer "multiple imagined communities and ways of belonging that are not exclusively based on ethnic or national principles" (Boym 42). Indie neofado is both restorative and reflective. Fado and indie lend themselves to both types of nostalgia. I argue below that whereas the recent fado elements influencing indie neofado tend toward restorative nostalgia, neofado´s indie roots reveal the primacy of reflective nostalgia.

Early Fado Reflective Nostalgia

Rui Vieira Nery points to the nostalgic roots of fado found in the sentimental *saudoso* lyrical contribution of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century *modinha*:[121]

> O termo também é...empregue pelos viajantes estranjeiros para referir as cantigas tanto dos camponeses da região circundante de Lisboa como dos cegos que pedem esmola nas ruas da capital, e nestes casos as características mais recorrentes nestas descrições são a simplicidade da base harmônica do acompanhamento à viola, o carácter melancólico e saudoso do poema e da melodia, e a natureza improvisatorial da interpretação. (31)

[121] The *modinha* was by no means the product of Lisbon peasants, but, as Nery points out, was cultivated by a diverse set of social circuits. It is primarily associated with erudite composers of *canções de salão* (parlor music). Just as Nery goes to great lengths to highlight the various contributors to the modinha, he is likewise rigorous in his study as to the origins of fado itself. Nery is staunch in his opposition to theories which claim that fado was created solely by the Portuguese (i.e. José Alberto Sardinha's 2010 tome, *A Origem do Fado*). He considers the Afro-Brazilian contribution of the extremely sensual and frenetic partner dances (often accompanied by the guitar or the *guitarra*), such as the *lundum*, as equally important as the European-Portuguese *modinha* in the nineteenth-century creation of what would come to be known as fado.

> (The term [modinha] is…occasionally used by foreign travelers to refer to the songs of the peasants living in the outskirts of Lisbon as well as to those performed by the blind beggars throughout the capital streets, and in these descriptions the characteristics most commonly cited were the simplicity of the guitar accompaniment's harmonic structure, the melancholic and *saudoso* character of the lyric and melody, and the improvisational nature of the performance.)

The first published fado historian José Pinto de Carvalho (author of the 1903 *História do Fado*), in his description of the merging of the *lundum* with the *modinha*, mentions several *modinha* tunes dating back to the mid-eighteenth century with *saudoso* titles: "De saudades morrerei" (I Will Die of *Saudades*), "A tua saudade" (To Your *Saudade*), and "Cruel saudade" (26-31).[122] *Saudade* in fado is often considered as synonymous with nostalgia. In the modinha, however, *saudade* often seems to have a slightly more pervasive and sinister agenda. In the song "Cruel Saudade," penned by Manuel José Vidigal, the speaker does not just *feel saudade* for lost loves; he is absolutely *haunted* by it. *Saudade* is personified here by Vidigal, chasing the protagonist from the lowest valley to the highest peaks, pursuing him in dreams, until, exasperated, he cries repeatedly that he would be better off dead. The melancholic, tragic lyricism of the *modinha* has no doubt played a role in the construction of the enigmatic nature of *saudade* as a unique Portuguese expression.

Aubrey Bell attempted, in 1915, to pin down an English approximation for this "untranslatable" Portuguese sentiment: "a vague and constant desire for something that does not and probably cannot exist, for something other than the present, a turning

[122] The *lundum* is a fairly fast-paced, late eighteenth-century Afro-Brazilian music and dance. It is less concerned with melancholic nostalgia, and more interested in the erotic potential of the present. Erotic for the era, that is, as its most sensual elements were primarily suggestive: the frenetic shaking of the hips, and the *umbigada*—in which two dancers of opposite sex meet bellybutton to bellybutton, separate, and repeat.

towards the past or towards the future; not an active discontent but an indolent dreaming wistfulness" (qtd. in Vernon 3). Bell's description of early twentieth-century fado *saudade* resembles the kind of ends and means which, according to Svetlana Boym, characterize reflective nostalgia. Just over a decade and a half later, Rodney Gallop would try his own sentimental translation:

> *Saudade* is yearning: yearning for something so indefinite as to be indefinable: an unrestrained indulgence in yearning. It is a blend of German *Sehnsucht*, French *nostalgie*, and something else besides. It couples the vague longing of the Celt for the unattainable with a Latin sense of reality which induces realization that it is indeed unattainable, and with the resultant discouragement and resignation. All this is implied in the lilting measures of the *fado*, in its languid triplets and, as it were, drooping cadences. (211-212)

Gallop's description portrays an evolution of fadista *saudade* from reflective to restorative in that it attempts, albeit vaguely, to recapture selective cultural traditions (the Celtic) of Lusophone patrimony.[123]

In 2007, indie post punk and gothic troubadour, Nick Cave, in a critique itself a reflective nostalgic lament for the loss of (and nostalgic call for the restoration of) the *credible* romantic love song, connects the specificity of *saudade* with a globally shared emotion:

> We all experience within us what the Portuguese call 'saudade´, an inexplicable longing, an unnamed and enigmatic yearning of the soul, and it is this feeling that lives in the realms of imagination and inspiration, and is the breeding ground for the sad song, for the love song. Saudade is the desire to be transported from

[123] Decades after Gallop, Svetlana Boym herself would translate *saudade* as "a tender sorrow, breezy and erotic, not as melodramatic as its Slavic counterpart, yet no less profound and haunting" (13). Boym compares *saudade* to the Czech *litost*, the Russian *toska*, the Polish *tesknota*, and the Romanian *dor*, stating that, "while each term preserves the specific rhythms of the language, one is struck by the fact that all these untranslatable words are in fact synonyms; and all share the desire for untranslatability, the longing for uniqueness. While the details and flavors differ, the grammar of romantic nostalgias all over the world is quite similar. ´I long therefore I am´ became the romantic motto" (12-13).

> darkness into light, to be touched by the hand of that which is not of this world. The love song is the light of God, deep down, blasting up though our wounds. …The love song is never simply happy. It must first embrace the potential for pain. Those songs that speak of love, without having within their lines an ache or a sigh, are not love songs at all, but rather hate songs disguised as love songs, and are not to be trusted. These songs deny us our human-ness and our God-given right to be sad, and the airwaves are littered with them. The love song must resonate with the whispers of sorrow and the echoes of grief. The writer who refuses to explore the darker reaches of the heart will never be able to write convincingly about the wonder, magic and joy of love, for just as goodness cannot be trusted unless it has breathed the same air as evil, so within the fabric of the love song, within its melody, its lyric, one must sense an acknowledgement of its capacity for suffering. (7-8)

Saudade, for Cave, is spiritually tied to the flamenco concept of *duende*—the expression of the most profound, profane, desperate *penas*—the darkness which must accompany any true expression of love, joy, light, healing, the holy. The absence of *saudade*/*duende* in contemporary mainstream (and much indie) musical creation is, for Cave, equivalent to the loss of humanity itself. Such music is neither reflective nor restorative, but the empty product of music industry algorithms based on reductive market analyses which only serve to reproduce a brainwashed, consumerist citizenry. The composer of such lyrical and musical atrocities may find a ready market to purchase his albums, as the present-day culture industry proves. However, Cave claims that this is not an affirmation of said musician's poetic skills, but rather his charlatanism—his ability to repeatedly pull the wool over the eyes of the masses, of a doped and duped citizenry. *Saudade* has the potential to rip the bandages from the eyes of this global collective which has been continually hypnotized by the vapid content of the modern-day love song.

Saudade for Cave represents a reflective nostalgia that whispers sorrow and echoes grief.[124] *Saudade´s* reflective nostalgia, if difficult to translate, is not so difficult to transmit. Richard Elliott ends the introductory chapter of *Fado and the Place of Longing* (2010) considering the perspective of someone who, despite a lack of linguistic fluency in Portuguese, cannot help but notice that Lisbon fado "reiterates certain sounds (words) almost obsessively" (10). Elliott highlights the sound world of traditional Lisbon fado: the fadista´s persistent reiteration of words related to witnessing/memory, to fate/fado, to *saudade* and other synonyms of nostalgia/longing/loss, and to Lisbon toponyms. This consistent sound world has allowed fado to increasingly travel beyond its geographical and linguistic borders ever since the nation began to reincorporate itself into the global community and international marketplace. One regularly hears the word *saudade*, and, more importantly, one *feels saudade* in many contemporary fado performances. Such felt *saudade* may resonate with the non-native listener with his or

[124] Paulo Bragança once conferred to Nick Cave the status of authentic fadista. Of the four albums Bragança recorded from 1992 to 2001 for Polydor/Poylgram/Ovação, only once did he release a track in English--covering the Nick Cave song, "Sorrow´s Child." The melancholic fatalism of "Sorrow´s Child" is reminiscent of Vidigal´s "Cruel Saudade." The protagonist (addressed here in the second person) is likewise distraught, beholden to the whim of a mystical stalker who knows not--and who cares not--the limits of human suffering:
"And just when you thought as though
all your tears were wept and done,
sorrow's child grieves not what has passed,
but all the past still yet to come.
Sorrow's child sits by the water.
Sorrow's child your arms enfold her.
Sorrow's child you're loathe to befriend her.
Sorrow's child but in sorrow surrender.
And just when it seems as though
all your tears were at an end,
sorrow's child lifts up her hand,
and she brings it down again."
The nostalgia of "Sorrow´s Child" is reflectively atemporal. It can wallow in the idyllic reminiscence of future grief. In this sense it is a perfect choice for the tragic Bragança, a heroin-addicted fadista-punk who, perhaps, had already glimpsed (and reveled in the fact) that his days were numbered. No, Bragança is not dead, just lost at sea—intentionally, and indefinitely.

her own reflective nostalgia. However, the *saudade* the non-native listener *feels* is not necessarily always *intended* as reflective. The nostalgia of Lisbon fado *saudade* can be reflective or restorative in nature, depending on the origins of the composition and/or the particular stance of the singer.

Salazar's Restorative Nostalgic Fado

Twentieth-century fado lyricism up until the middle of the 1920s was frequently infused with relevant issues and political agendas of the era—socialism, communism, and anarcho-syndicalism—composed and performed by political activists. Early twentieth-century fado had little time for reflective or restorative nostalgia as the nation was constantly embroiled in political skirmishes that the fadistas of the day addressed lyrically. The monarchy would finally be ousted in 1910, and the fledgling republic would seek some form of stable governance throughout the following decade and a half. A military coup in 1926 would place an economics professor from the University of Coimbra, António Oliveira de Salazar, as the Portuguese Minister of Finances and later, in 1932, as Presidente do Conselho de Ministros (Cabinet President).

Salazar originally considered fado a depressing music, inappropriate for the expression of national identity. Until the end of World War II, the Salazar regime distanced itself from fado, considering it dangerously proletariat, urban, and far too new to be useful for the ideological consolidation of a national imaginary (Nery 220). Yet Salazar recognized that he could not just ignore fado. Fado under Salazar was forcefully required to limit nostalgic sentiment to the restorative type, patching up and paving over

the memory gaps and economic and cultural expectations of its Estado Novo citizenry. The fado lyricists under the Estado Novo were emblematic of a highly controlled society molded in the restorative nostalgic vision of the right-wing authoritarian regime. Salazar successfully incorporated fado into his project of "anti-modern myth-making of history by means of a return to national symbols and myths" (Boym 41). Four years into the establishment of the Estado Novo, the Salazar regime launched a "cultural project [that] sought the 'systematic restoration of traditional values" (Pinto 32-34). These traditional values were founded on a long-suffering and resilient working-class citizenry. Salazar´s selective Lusophone history was based on Portuguese exceptionalism--reverting to a distant past in which the Portuguese empire spanned across the globe—underscored by the *lusotropicalism* belief that the Portuguese were naturally better colonizers than other European nations.[125]

Above all, Salazar concentrated on restoring social stability from the ground up: The regime concentrated on maintaining and reinforcing the conventional structure of strong national work ethics and a patriotic and Catholic nuclear family. Portuguese women were seen as a critical component of this traditionalist ideological program. Salazar (like Franco) attempted to institutionalize his ideas of the proper female social role as loyal spouse, hardworking housewife, and dedicated mother who would instill nationalist values in her children: "Bound exclusively to the role and consequent duties of the savvy mother-housewife, they are ultimately held responsible for the economic

[125] The term *lusotropicalism* was first coined by the Brazilian sociologist, Gilberto Freyre in *Casa-grande e senzala* (1933) in reference to the exceptional adaptability and racial tolerance of the Portuguese imperialist project in colonial-era Brazil.

welfare of the entire Portuguese nation-family; and also for the behavior, if not the very thoughts and desires, deemed appropriate for its members" (Ferreira 135). Ferreira examines the Estado Novo agenda toward "internal colonization," or "the fixation of the Portuguese family in the land of its ancestors," pushing for literary manifestations during the early years of the regime to expound on the mythification of rural Portugal; locating "the essence of Portugueseness in a transhistorical rural habitat" which would play on the aesthetics of a feminine natural then informing the Estado Novo's paternalistic order (139-144). Salazar equated a woman's liberation from her traditional familial role with the degradation of the family itself which, in turn, led to an uneducated generation of children, a subsequent general moral decline, and the disintegration of national values. For Salazar, the product of such estrangement within the family produced a domino effect in which familial relationships are perverted--the neighborhood community then fragments, the district divides, the region collapses, and the nation itself becomes vulnerable to all sorts of external as well as internal evils.

Despite his misgivings with fado tradition, Salazar recognized the ideological potential of such music. Paradoxically, the Salazar regime would have to rely heavily on the professional female fadista to disseminate a message encouraging Portuguese women to maintain their traditional role as stay-at-home mothers. Such irony was undoubtedly not lost on the astute professor. Although Salazar could not fully control the ultimate commercial success or failure of an entire gender of fado singers, he could maintain absolute control over the content that they would record and perform. Fadistas who composed lyrics contrary to the national imaginary envisioned by Salazar's Estado Novo

discourse were rapidly disabused of such artistic liberties by the regime's *lápis azul.*[126] Fado lyricists began a long process of self-censorship. Fado lyrics that fell outside the acceptable standards of national interest or Catholic decency could lead to the revocation of a composer´s professional license. Fado lyrics deemed exceptionally offensive by the regime (intentional or not) could potentially result in serious personal danger for the lyricist.

Poverty was an acceptable theme as long as it didn´t imply some form of social injustice. Lyrics that told of natural disasters, work accidents, acts of heroism, amorous betrayals, etc. were deemed acceptable. Lyrics dealing with the rigidity of class hierarchy, or protest, unionization, social immobility, revolution, wealth inequality, etc. were not. The restorative nostalgia of Salazar-era fado reintegrated a sense of tragic fatalism for the unfortunate citizen who, if obedient to authority would be redeemed and venerated in Portuguese heaven. "Cantam-se agora…a exclusão, a pobreza e mesmo a fome, já não como sintomas de uma ordem sócio-económica específica susceptível de alteração mas como tragédia individuais inevitáveis, que apenas se podem descrever e lamentar; a velhice, a viuvez e a orfandade desprotegidas..." (Nery 192) (They would now sing...exclusion, poverty, and hunger, not as symptomatic of a specific socio-economic order susceptible to change, but as individual, unavoidable tragedies which one could only describe and lament; the unprotected elderly, the widow, the orphan…).[127]

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[126] The *lápis azul* (blue pencil) was a euphemism for Estado Novo literary censorship. It also was used as a metonym for Salazar repression in general.

[127] After the defeat of the Axis powers in 1945, Salazar´s right-wing authoritarian regime became increasingly perceived by the international community as anachronistic. The Estado Novo evolved ever so slightly with the times to allow incremental freedom of expression, external influence, and relaxed censorship. By the beginning of the 1950s the regime would incorporate fado wholesale under its

The regime called for a nostalgic celebration of proper Portuguese conduct within the realm of one´s god-given gender and class roles, regardless of any adversity that may come one´s way. The burden of Salazar´s cultural agenda would pressure fado lyricists to focus as much as possible on a glorified national past--rather than on a depressing Portuguese present. Fadistas performed daily such a restorative nostalgia until it became secondhand and natural for composer, performer, and fan alike.

Twentieth-Century Indie Reflective Nostalgia

Whereas fado nostalgia had evolved over the twentieth century from reflective to restorative nostalgia, indie has progressed over the past few decades in the opposite direction. The reflective nostalgia inherent in the indie canon since its inception has been a sort of odd blend varying between dewy-eyed wallowing in the past and esoteric references to cultural and subcultural icons, artworks, and events of indie yesteryear; ironic disenchantment with the present (remembered in the past or experienced in the present with respect to the past) and disengaged opportunism (blithely exploiting the past) in the present; a collectively shared hopelessness for the future (the "no future" refrain in the Sex Pistol´s song "God Save the Queen" is really about future anarchy as product of the past sins of England and all humanity) combined with an individually expressed flexibility to remain authentic come what may. One need only listen to the Pandora station of the English indie pop singer Morrissey, for example, to experience

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renovated (and reactionary) political populism with the nationalist motto "*Fado, Fátima e Futebol*" (Fado, Fátima, and Soccer). See Chapter Four for more information on this era of fado under the Estado Novo.

every form of this reflective indie nostalgia within the span of an hour.[128] "The focus here is not on recovery of what is perceived to be an absolute truth but on the meditation on history and passage of time…[reflective nostalgia] is more oriented toward an individual narrative that savors the details and memorial signs, perpetually deferring homecoming itself" (Boym 49). Indie's reflective nostalgia revels in the humorous and ironic side of collectively experienced past pains which helped to form the present-day stalwart misfits who (purified by these experiences) are now adaptable to and accepting of any further humiliations and isolations that the present and future may bring. Indie's restorative nostalgia comes primarily in the form of an idealized, selective memory regarding the absolute truth of the lost ideals of the indie institution itself. The indie past is a value for the present that many of its members constantly lament as lost forever in the

[128] I tried this experiment one night, and I wasn´t disappointed. The station began with the track "Late Night, Maudlin Street," a song from the Morrissey album *Viva Hate* (1988). The song title itself combines two somewhat obscure historical references: Maudlin Street Secondary is the name of the school in the 1959 British film *Carry On Teacher,* directed by Gerald Thomas. *Late Night on Watling Street* (1970) is a collection of short stories by the (Irish-born) British author and playwright, Bill Naughton. The lyrics of "Late Night, Maudlin Street" find a morose protagonist recalling when he finally had to say goodbye for the last time to his childhood home. The memories represent a turbulent adolescence filled with lost loves, drugs, violence, isolation, self-hatred, death, and the remembrance of past nostalgias. Morrissey infuses the song with a kind of ironic nostalgia in that the protagonist pines for a childhood home in which "he never stole a happy hour" (Morrissey). The fourth song on the Pandora playlist was Belle & Sebastian´s track "Expectations" from the band´s debut album *Tigermilk* (1996). The lyrics explore the pains of being a misfit in a high school setting where emotional survival means mainstream conformity. The song appeals to the indie community´s collective memory of a past disenchantment with the present via a protagonist who suffers this fate in her narrated present. The future of the harassed heroine is even bleaker ("do you want to work at C&A´s?/Cause that´s what they expect./Move to lingerie and take a feel off Joe the storeman"). This is a collectively experienced future seen from the past perspective of one individual, who, nevertheless remains true to her indie identity regardless of the present or future psychological costs: "For careers you say you want to be remembered for your art./ Your obsessions get you known throughout the school for being strange/ making life-size models of the Velvet Underground in clay" (Murdoch). The final song I listened to for this experiment, "The State I Am In," was from the same album. The first verse sums up the entire sentiment of the song: "I was surprised, I was happy for a day in 1975." The song ends with the narrator reflecting on how dismal his life is, "riding on city buses for a hobby is sad" (Murdoch).

internet age, plagued as it is by the pitchforkization of the musical palette, conspicuous cultural consumption, and subcultural stillbirth.[129]

Twenty-First-Century Indie Restorative Nostalgia

Twenty-first-century indie neofado nostalgia is contemporaneous with an international indie music retro revival. Anglophone indie music production especially has been marked by an atemporal throwback sound for some time now. But are these tendencies the product of an authentic nostalgic sentiment in indie, or is atemporality simply symptomatic of a general present-day lack of artistic innovation? Of course the idea that musical talent is globally absent is patently absurd. But the preponderance of the retro sound nowadays means the casual listener rarely, if ever, experiences the shock of something genuinely new.[130] According to Simon Reynolds, the retro phenomenon is less the product of a surge of artistic nostalgia and more the result of a flood of musical information available on the internet: "One of the curiosities of the futuristic-seeming information technology that we now enjoy is that it has dramatically increased the presence of the past in our lives. From YouTube to iTunes, from file-sharing blogs to Netflix, the sheer volume and range of back catalogue music, film, TV and so forth that is

[129] See the section on indie in this book's introduction for more information as to why this idealized subcultural past is now seen by many "old school" indie fans and musicians as virtually irretrievable.
[130] Reynolds refers to the absence nowadays of that "sensation of ecstatic disorientation caused by music that seems to come out of nowhere and points to a bright, or at least strange, future" (Reynolds, "Total recall"). One of the best examples of this kind of experience was explained by the Beach Boys composer Brian Wilson upon first hearing the Ronette´s 1963 hit "Be My Baby." This was Wilson´s first encounter with the "Wall of Sound" production technique of Phil Spector, as well as his first listen to one of his favorite bands. According to Wilson, he was driving his car when the song came on the radio. Wilson found the choruses so mind-boggling that he literally had to pull off the road. This is the kind of sensation that Reynolds refers to as lacking today—the kind that would cause even one of the greatest musical composers of the era to literally stop dead in his tracks.

available for consumption is astounding" (Reynolds, "The Songs of Now"). With easy access to the past and a rapidly increasing hard drive storage capacity, the attention and imagination of this generation of young musicians is distracted and abstracted as they attempt to absorb the past half century of Anglophone pop and rock music history. In addition, this deluge of information is exacerbated by the exhilarating past and present hybrid sounds emanating from musical creations falling outside Anglophone pop/rock traditions: gypsy punk, Soviet New Wave, Korean boy bands, Japanese psychedelic garage, etc. Reynolds rightly ponders how the underground vanguard musicians have seemingly switched roles now as "antiquarians and curators" instead of pioneers and innovators.[131] He considers part of this role-reversal as resulting from the internet's ability to provide a precise replication of period styles and sounds:

> As a result, the scope for imaginative reworking of the past--the misrecognitions and mutations that characterised earlier cults of antiquity like the 19th-century gothic revival--is reduced. In music especially, the combination of cheap digital technology and the vast accumulation of knowledge about how specific recordings were made, means that bands today can get exactly the period sound they are looking for, whether it's a certain drum sound achieved by Ringo Starr with help from the Abbey Road technicians or a particular synth tone used by Kraftwerk. (Reynolds, "Total recall")

[131] The primary focus of both of Reynold´s articles quoted here is mainstream pop culture. However, Reynolds does not spare the indie/alternative/underground artist: "The hipster underground is also where musical retromania intersects with the related phenomenon of vintage chic. From the fad for collecting quaint manual typewriters (either as decorative objects or to actually use) to the continuing boom for vintage clothing, there is a striking parallel with underground musicians' fetish for obsolete formats such as vinyl and cassette and with the antique-like trade in early analogue synthesisers. But the trend that is most emblematic of our time-out-of-joint culture is the vogue for digital photograph apps such as Hipstamatic and Instagram, which give snapshots the period look associated with cameras and film from the 70s and 80s…What does it say about our era that so many people think it's cool to place these pre-faded, instant-nostalgia filters on the images that will one day constitute their treasury of precious memories? When they look back to the early 21st century, their pics will look like they were taken two or three decades earlier, summoning up a long-lost era they don't have any reason to feel nostalgic about" (Reynolds, "Total recall").

The reflective nostalgia inherent in the indie aesthetic begins to mirror in this description the tendency toward restorative nostalgic's fixing of a select, absolute past. Whereas "*restoration* (from *re-staure*—re-establishment) signifies a return to the original stasis, to the prelapsarian moment…*re-flection* suggests new flexibility, not the reestablishment of stasis" (Boym 49). Many indie musicians now produce a perfect snapshot of the past in form and content. The finely detailed musical history dating back to the advent of the phonograph dovetails with the more recent technological advances of Pro-Tools and the internet to create an atmosphere characterized by indie inflexibility, creative stasis, and artistic paralysis. Reynolds posits that many of the great historical art innovations were the product not of past visionary prophets pursuing a more mystical present, but rather, the effect of a fortuitous mistake resulting from the premodern/modern/postmodern musician´s own longing to recreate the cults of a lost time. This represents a restorative nostalgic's failed attempt at symbolic formalization and ritualization of the past. Today´s indie avant-garde prophets are unable to flexibly reproduce a reflective nostalgic cultural product precisely because they are likewise unable (and unwilling) to fumble such restorative nostalgia. In Italian writer and literary critic Umberto Eco´s U.S.-road-trip essay, *Travels in Hyperreality*, he states that the "frantic desire for the Almost Real arises only as a neurotic reaction to the vacuum of memories, the Absolute Fake is offspring of the unhappy awareness of present without depth" (30). Eco´s search for hyperreality today would instead find an even more depressing indie version of a reverse Disneyland: instead of an Absolute Fake attempting to improve on reality, we have an Absolute Fake taking a step forward (or backward?) and reproducing it exactly.

Indie Neofado's Reflective and Restorative Nostalgia

Indie neofado borrows from both these reflective and restorative nostalgic traditions. Deolinda fuses the indie themes of childhood and nostalgia in the very protagonist whose *saudade*-laden perspective of contemporary Portuguese life is the lyrical muse for singer Ana Bacalha: Deolinda. OqueStrada members perform in mid-century throwback, secondhand clothing reminiscent of a lost era of Lisbonite conservative glamour. The band has likewise been influenced by indie sartorial style: "The adoption of charity shop items continues this nostalgic principle of indie, in which different periods of resale clothing are renovated and reintroduced as stylish" (Fonarow 45). Novembro shares the indie shoegazer's reflective nostalgic performance of the shy, schoolboy youth by maintaining an introverted, static, aloof onstage position--the performative gaze often literally fixed on their shoes. Conversely, Novembro´s metaphorical expressionist landscape of fado, achieved both lyrically and pictorially, functions as an attempt at a restorative nostalgic celebration of the too-oft-forgotten dregs of fado origins within the seedy underbelly of Alfama and Mouraria. Dead Combo evokes the same sentiment conceptually through their instrumental recordings which evoke these same two neighborhoods as a nineteenth-century Portuguese Wild West—a utopian vision of Lisbon from the perspective of the roles that they perform onstage, the gangster and the undertaker. Dead Combo´s music combines the melancholic longing of Carlos Paredes´s guitarwork with the Ennio Morricone Spaghetti Western soundtrack--itself a music intensely evocative of an earlier era of the limitless possibility of Western-

U.S. manifest destiny. Both of Dead Combo´s references simultaneously interweave reflective and restorative nostalgic sentiments.

In indie neofado, the restorative and reflective nostalgic underpinnings of fado intertwine with the historically reflective and presently restorative nostalgias of indie. Traditionally speaking, indie's reflective nostalgia was an authentic outward expression of an inner alienation. Currently, however, indie nostalgia is often merely a recurrent, paralytic, and shallow motif, performed perfunctorily for a disengaged and apathetic audience. In the lyrics, music, and habitus of Paulo Pedro Gonçalves and Viviane Parra, we see how the lost flexibility inherent in traditional indie´s reflective nostalgic aesthetic merges with traditional fado *saudade*.

Ovelha Negra and the Portuguese Renaissance

Fig. 13. Ovelha Negra from left to right: Paulo Pedro Gonçalves and João Gomes. Photograph by Rui Coelho, n.d., JPEG.

It seems appropriate that one of the innovators behind the first Portuguese punk (Os Faíscas), post-punk (Corpo Diplomático), and indie new romantic (Heróis do Mar) bands, Paulo Pedro Gonçalves, would later go on to found the first hybrid fado-indie electronic group, Ovelha Negra. Gonçalves recruited the help of a handful of Portuguese musicians to produce the first commercially successful indie neofado album, *Por este andar ainda acabo a morrer em Lisboa* (1998). This album combined experimental, electronic, punk, and indie rock sounds with Lisbon fado. Although Gonçalves only released one indie electronic neofado album before returning to London, his influence would lay the groundwork for the slow but steady growth of this scene.[132] In 2012, Gonçalves invited several professional fadistas to perform on his follow-up album *Ilumina*.

A fascinating detail about Paulo Pedro Gonçalves´s unique position as the first indie electronic adopter of traditional fado music is found in his geographical separation from the cultural anxieties experienced by other Portuguese indie and electronic

[132] Around the end of 2011, the band´s founder Paulo Pedro Gonçalves decided to change the band´s name from Ovelha Negra to Capital Saudade. According to Gonçalves, the band changed its name due to advice that he was given by Portuguese friends in 2011. Ovelha Negra had not released an album for over a decade, and in the meantime a Portuguese instrumental hip hop band named Orelha Negra had begun to enjoy a vast national following. In order to avoid confusion for the album he planned on releasing in 2012, Gonçalves chose to change the group´s name despite the fact that there had already grown an underground cult following for the band ever since the release of their first and only album. This is a particularly appropriate metonym for indie music during the twenty-first century in that the cult group had been eclipsed by the buzz of the new. Seldom now does an indie fan profess an affinity toward the seminal group of yore since such an expression has lost all meaning. In many indie circles, proclaiming oneself a fan of an iconic pioneering group such as The Clash is akin to saying that one likes oxygen. On the other hand, if you say that you like one of the latter-day indie saints (such as a millennial indie buzz band like The Hives) everyone will most likely assume that you have spent the last decade in a coma. By February 2012, Gonçalves decided to maintain the original band name Ovelha Negra anyway despite the potential confusion. The subcultural capital linked to the cult following of this band was deemed by Gonçalves as too valuable to forfeit.

musicians with respect to fado´s historical association with the right-wing authoritarian Salazar regime. Gonçalves spent the majority of his adolescence outside of Lisbon after his parents emigrated in 1957 to Toronto, Canada when he was only two years old. As such, Paulo was not only physically distanced from the burgeoning subversive, leftist urban population that increasingly equated fado music with regressive, fascist politics, but he was also spiritually disconnected from most all the signifiers of his childhood homeland. Paulo´s father attempted to bring Portugal to Canada by establishing the first Portuguese Association in the country to ease the transition for the family and other Portuguese émigrés. The club successfully attracted several fado and Portuguese rural folk music performers to Toronto, providing Paulo with an early glimpse of the national culture he was missing. By the age of five, Gonçalves had already met and watched the performances of some of the most famous fado singers of the sixties. Paulo would envision himself as a fado singer after the fadista had left the stage: "And I used to get on stage after they performed and sing myself, even though the mic wasn´t up there. I wasn't singing to anybody, just to pretend that I was singing" (Paulo Pedro Gonçalves 9). This produced in the young Gonçalves a nostalgic feeling of loss and *saudade* for the very primary symbols of a motherland he had never really experienced completely in the first place.

It is useful to draw a comparison, here, with Shane MacGowan, the founder of the Celtic punk band the Pogues, another path-breaking band that hybridized indie with folk. Both Gonçalves and MacGowan spent the majority of their childhood as expats. Like many expats, both were raised among nostalgic celebration of the national homeland

culture that they were unable to experience firsthand. Both, too, went on to produce the first commercially successful albums that blended the sounds of indie rock with indigenous folk musics. Gonçalves (like MacGowan) enjoyed a unique expat upbringing which cultivated in him a habitus that permitted what was generally unthinkable for indie musicians raised in Portugal over the same time period: the blending of fado with indie rock.

Shane MacGowan´s Celtic punk band, The Pogues, was formed in London in 1982. Born in Kent, England in 1957, Pogues lead singer and songwriter MacGowan lived in Tipperary, a small town in south-central Ireland for the first six years of his life before moving with his parents back to London. Like Gonçalves, MacGowan spent the majority of his impressionable adolescent years disconnected physically from his parent´s homeland, while being simultaneously exposed to their home culture via parental influence. Shane´s mother, Therese MacGowan, was a traditional Irish folk dancer and singer. Therese, as well as Shane´s father, Maurice, both had a profound musical impact on the young MacGowan, playing traditional Irish folk music for him throughout his adolescence in London. An often consistent attempt of émigré parents to stay attached to their national culture via the historical patrimony available to them, or attainable by them, is additionally reinforced by their cultivation of intimate relationships with other members of the diaspora. Gonçalves and MacGowan share a pioneering status within global indie neofolk perhaps due to their unusual dispositions, formed as adolescent expats inculcated by immediate (familial) and communal (diasporic) relationships which served to constantly reinforce the culture of the homeland.

This distinct initial trajectory, I argue, profoundly influenced Gonçalves, providing him with a worldview distinct from that of his indie peers in Europe. But how can we understand the relationship between the apparently objective historical conditions of an expatriate upbringing and the apparently subjective aesthetic sensibilities that would inform Gonçalves's musical career? One useful theoretical path is offered by Pierre Bourdieu's conception of habitus, which offers a way past both subjectivism and objectivism. For Bourdieu, habitus is a structure of the individual mind which is characterized by a set of acquired dispositions, sensibilities, and taste:

> Because the dispositions durably inculcated by objective conditions (which science apprehends through statistical regularities as the probabilities objectively attached to a group or class) engender aspirations and practices objectively compatible with those objective requirements, the most improbable practices are excluded, either totally without examination, as *unthinkable*, or at the cost of the *double negation* which inclines agents to make a virtue of necessity, that is, to refuse what is anyway refused and to love the inevitable. (77)

The earliest experiences of an individual form the foundational structures of the habitus which become the "basis of perception and appreciation of all subsequent experience" for that individual (78). The collective habitus of a community, class, diaspora, etc. exists within the dispositions of the individuals who make up such a group. This habitus, which pre-exists the individual and exists within the individual, exerts a profound influence on this person, causing them to act and react to external stimuli and situations in particular ways, both conscious and unconscious. Such a system of dispositions permits the individual to recognize certain opportunities afforded by a specific event, environment, etc., while simultaneously limiting this individual's ability to perceive other potential opportunities. Bourdieu refers to this totality of habitus as

> the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations [that] produces practices which tend to reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principle, while adjusting to the demands inscribed as objective potentialities in the situation, as defined by the cognitive and motivating structures making up the habitus. (78)

Habitus, then, can provide a framework for us to perceive why a musician like Gonçalves or MacGowan would pioneer a movement that, at the time, was not considered by the majority of their indie peers. The affective bonds to national patrimony fostered by the expat family and diaspora are at times stronger than those formed by residents of the homeland who can take such traditions for granted. For the young MacGowan or Gonçalves, the constant exposure to artistic aspects of the parent culture can be a source of fascination and/or repulsion since it is at once foreign and familiar. Regardless of their reaction to this culture, they are inevitably infused with it. This habitus subtly informs who they are, and it thus has the potential to be a profound resource for the kind of creative hybrid innovation to which both musicians are now credited. Moreover, as the homeland culture had always been largely divorced from any kind of political discourse or general sociological connotations for both MacGowan and Gonçalves, it represented a relatively neutral semiotic and thus free of most of the negative historical baggage that each would respectively carry for the national residents of their generation.

Hybridity here is critical with respect to the innovative potential of this drastically different artistic perspective. Musicians like Gonçalves and MacGowan didn´t go on to produce the kind of nostalgic, reified view of the homeland that many émigrés can end up creating when they find themselves suddenly isolated from the nurturing comfort of the motherland culture. As MacGowan and Gonçalves both spent the majority of their

adolescence outside of their homeland, they were not jolted by an abrupt lack of national culture, but were gradually introduced to it while remaining free to explore other (Canadian, American, English, etc.) cultural expressions. These musicians are informed by a worldview that is tempered by a host of hybrid cultural experiences. Whereas Gonçalves´s habitus allowed him to recognize the vast sonic potential of combining his indie and electronic musical interests with fado, the habitus of his Portuguese indie brethren effectively prevented them from even entertaining the notion. Such a practice would be, essentially, *unthinkable*. With respect to his relation to national culture, Gonçalves, like MacGowan, was neither a wistful, melancholic exile nor a rebellious punk native.

At the age of twelve, Gonçalves finally returned with his family to Lisbon only to return to Toronto after one year. From that point on Paulo was shuffled back and forth from Toronto to Lisbon or Viseu and back again until, by 1973, he was old enough to make his own decisions. Being that Portugal was still immersed at the time in a series of extremely violent wars in its African colonies that were vying for independence, Gonçalves opted to head to London to avoid the draft. Shortly after the Portuguese Carnation Revolution of April 1974, he returned to Lisbon and subsequently joined an ashram, practicing yoga, meditation, celibacy, and abstinence for two years.

The next musical awakening for Gonçalves was punk rock. After his introduction to the caustic, deliberately offensive, and politically rebellious practitioners of the early British punk scene, Gonçalves would go on to found the first Portuguese punk band, Os Faíscas, followed by the first Portuguese post-punk band, Corpo Diplomático, followed

by the first Portuguese indie new romantic band, Heróis do Mar. Gonçalves describes his first encounter with punk rock:

> The first time I heard about [punk] I was going to Montreal. It was the only time I went back to Canada. I was on the plane, and this stewardess said 'have you heard of the Sex Pistols?´ And I said ´why?´ And she said ´the Sex Pistols are all the rage´…And I thought it was like a glam band or something, because I would think that that was the last thing that was still kind of happening…Bowie and all that. The Sex Pistols sounded like a glam band so I said ´no, I've never heard of it´….And then suddenly they started these radio shows here with, you know, everybody: the Clash, Sex Pistols, Generation X… (Paulo Pedro Gonçalves)

Gonçalves´s entire biography represents a metaphor for neofado itself: Born in Lisbon and raised abroad, it is awakened in the interstices by chance encounters of fate; its full potential is finally realized when the musician embraces the hybrid self as simultaneously insider and outsider, postmodernist and traditionalist, punk and fado incarnate. Paulo's full embrace of this hybrid self would not materialize for over two decades after his first venture into creating Lusophone punk. However, as a punk kid in late 70s Lisbon, Gonçalves recognized early on how deeply ingrained the fado half of his hybrid self really was. Despite his knowledge that any display of affinity for the music associated with the Salazar regime would severely compromise his authenticity as a true Portuguese punk, Paulo was unable to contain his emotion after seeing fado for the first time in his hometown--and for the first time since he was a child: "I remember going with Pedro [Ayres Magalhães] and these two girls to [a *casa de fado*]…We were a bit drunk. But I know we sat down, and they started singing fado, and I started crying—I couldn't stop crying. When we went it was an amateur night…and you just went 'fuck!' And it just kind of made sense to me. But I left it there" (Paulo Pedro Gonçalves). This is the unstoppable resurgence of habitus that evokes the emotions lost or suppressed since

youth. It does not pass through conscious thought or discourse but rushes forward in fits of nostalgia and instinctive passion.

Paulo would later go on to dabble in some of the more romantic and idealistic elements of fado with his band Heróis do Mar, either lyrically or through album and promotional artwork. After Heróis do Mar broke up, Gonçalves became frustrated with the Portuguese musical scene: "I thought 'fuck this'--you know? You can't get out of Portugal if you do Portuguese music. Let's do something in English and get somewhere. So we did LX-90 and, yeah, we got a record deal" (Paulo Pedro Gonçalves). Paulo´s cynical expression regarding the state of the 1990s Portuguese music scene can be easily understood in light of the tidal wave of Anglophone rock that had engulfed the tiny country from the advent of American grunge during the beginning of the decade to the mid-nineties Brit-pop explosion. He decided to try his luck in London. During the mid-nineties Gonçalves had relative success performing in London with his bands LX-90, Kick Out the Jams, and Swamp. While performing with these various acts he couldn´t help but notice how English music was experiencing a new renaissance via Britpop acts such as Blur, Oasis, Suede, and Pulp.[133] Gonçalves began to entertain thoughts of a similar revival of a distinctly Portuguese sound. Returning to Lisbon with his band Swamp, Gonçalves finally had the epiphany which led him to first conceptualize an indie neofado aesthetic:

[133] Britpop is a U.K.-based subgenre of indie music which came about in the early to mid-1990s as a reaction to the success of the U.S.-based grunge scene across Britain. In opposition to this invasion, bands such as Blur, Oasis, and Pulp referenced 1960s-era British guitar music, accompanied by lyrics which employed slang and themes unique to the U.K.

> We had come a lot to Portugal to play, and I was walking down Chiado, like one day like today--you know with the sun--and the fado was playing in the van, and I thought, ´fuck´s sake, this is the only music that really makes sense in this place. And it's the music that is of this place; everything else is imported.´ So I thought, ´I'm going to do a fado record.´ And then, before I got to the bottom of Rua do Carmo, I had come up with this concept which was: fado is catholic, yeah? And what's the worst thing a catholic can do? Turn his back on Jesus. So I wrote 'Não há pior inferno que o amor' (´There is no hell like love.´) It just came to me: Someone who, because he loses the love of his life, renounces religion. He renounces God, and turns his back on it. And that song came from that. And then I just started writing all these songs in like…sort of using the tradition. (Paulo Pedro Gonçalves)

After finally realizing a calling that was already forty years in the making, Paulo struggled with the duality of his hybrid habitus that caused him to both love and hate fado music. He was stepping into uncharted territory and recognized that the entirety of the cultural capital he had accrued as punk/indie pioneer and subcultural icon was at stake. While developing sound, style, and concept, Paulo considered the prior fadista ventures into electronica. Gonçalves had previously admired Bragança´s audaciousness, but desired to go further with fado. He thought that Bragança´s eccentricity and effeminate qualities exposed an interesting niche for fado music but left a hole for indie or mainstream appreciation:[134]

> I didn't feel that [Bragança] was pushing boundaries or creating something different. What I wanted from 'Ovelha Negra' was to provoke and present a new direction for a music and poetry that I felt was important, real, timeless and vital but dying because it had become stagnant. Fado in the 70s, 80s, and 90s lived in a ghetto, a tourist (trap) attraction. All the usual suspects, singing the same

[134] Gonçalves noted that he had a deep esteem for Bragança's artistry, but that the new fado form he was producing from "the tourist (trap) ghetto" was not all that new and still lacked widespread, mainstream acceptance. However, Bragança, by openly subverting the deeply entrenched gender normativity of Lisbon fado, did indeed awaken an entirely new sense of possibility for this scene during a time in which it was still primarily only performed by purists. As I discuss in Chapter One of this study, Bragança was an extremely influential artist for what would later become neofado not only due to his foundational musical subversion (in the eyes of fado purists), but, and perhaps more importantly, because of his subversive crossdressing performances. Such transgression allowed young audiences to grasp the achingly obvious potential for fado as an ideal communication mechanism for all sorts of subversive messages.

> standards, selling Caldo Ve[r]de, Bacalhau and overpriced drinks. What I felt about Paulo Bragança was that even though he gave Fado a new attitude (which many Fadistas did in the past with their different styles), the sound and language remained the same. We forget that on Amalia's records you can hear jazz saxophone, percussion, and an orchestra and that back in the day she was accused of 'straying from the path of tradition and that it was sacrilege and shouldn't be done'…When I wrote and recorded 'por este andar...' I never thought that it was radical or ahead of it's time'. I honestly believed it to be accessible and with some very traditional songwriting that fadistas would sooner than later want to record. When the A&R man from BMG came to see us at the studio in London and said that what we had was unsellable, well, we couldn't believe ours ears! And to this day it still is a mystery that it has taken so long for most people to get it. Funnily enough, 10 years after its release the same A&R guy who at the time was head of Sony Records in Portugal said he thought that 'Por este andar...' was the greatest Portuguese record ever recorded. Just goes to show, A&R men don't know their arse from their elbow! (Paulo Pedro Gonçalves "Re:Entrevista/Interview Request")

Gonçalves voiced to me his desire to create a form of neofado that would deal with current problems that face the Portuguese nation. He was disenchanted with indie irony as symptomatic of a distinctly Portuguese inhibition to deal with real present-day social issues. Gonçalves was grappling towards the end of the millennium with concerns that many Portuguese citizens had largely abandoned ever since the country was incorporated into the overarching entity of the European Union. By the time Ovelha Negra had released *Por Este Andar Ainda Acabo A Morrer Em Lisboa*, the age-old Portuguese crutch of *sebastianismo* had long since been effectively replaced by the country´s incorporation into a supranational institution which would supposedly alleviate local economic and cultural insecurities.[135] Nevertheless, by the turn of the century,

[135] *Sebastianismo* is a specifically Lusophone trope in which a national longing for a symbolic salvation would be actualized via the return of a hero embodying the spirit of the lost king Dom Sebastião. Dom Sebastião, after the death of his grandfather king João III, ruled Portugal from 1557 to 1578 as the sole remaining heir to the Avis dynasty. Compelled to follow a divine calling to conquer and convert the various Muslim populations of North Africa, Dom Sebastião supposedly died or disappeared during the battle of Alcácer-Quibir. The loss of this king meant the end of the Avis family line, leading to crisis of dynastic succession for Portugal. The crisis culminated in Portugal´s humiliating loss of sovereignty as the

concepts of national sovereignty and the preservation of a uniquely Portuguese identity had resurged as a major preoccupation amongst politicians, citizens, and other startup neofado musicians. This concern has grown due to the recent national economic crisis which resulted in multiple IMF bailouts along with the inherent loss of sovereignty involved with the process. Portugal´s social programs have become increasingly slashed due to international and supranational intervention.

In this atmosphere of economic and sovereign uncertainty, Gonçalves decided in 2010 to return to his Ovelha Negra project. Gonçalves organized a collective of talented fadistas as well as electronic and indie instrumentalists to help reignite an interest in the nation´s historical patrimony for a generation that was too young to experience his band´s first album. The lyrics for the new album celebrate love and loss, life and death, and the traditional fado references to Portuguese toponyms, fado stars, and fado itself. The track "Amália continua a cantar" is an homage to the iconic fadista Amália Rodrigues. The music for this song frequently plays with dynamics and rhythmic cadences. The Portuguese guitar lilts beneath a variety of string instruments—violin (Guillem Calvo), cello (Arnulf Lindner), acoustic guitar (Paulo Pedro Gonçalves), steel guitar, and electric guitar (both performed by Sam Harley). The electric guitar provides the primary

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nation was absorbed into Spain, then under the rule of Phillip the Second (Phillip the First in Portugal). For nearly two centuries prior to this loss of independence, Portuguese monarchs had successfully taken advantage of (from 1494 onwards under the Treaty of Tordesillas with Spain) a Papal blessing granting the expansion of empire of any land east of the demarcation line established 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands. The tiny nation had for some time, in effect, ruled half the world. The death of Dom Sebastião could be seen as one of the first crucial blows to these Portuguese designs toward international empire which would culminate in the further humiliating exodus of the royal court to Brazil during the Napoleonic invasion of 1807. Ever since the mysterious disappearance of the king Dom Sebastião, *o desejado* (the desired), the Portuguese nation has been symbolically awaiting his return. This *deus ex machina* could metaphorically restore Portugal to its earlier position as a world power with which to be reckoned.

rhythmic structure of the piece due to the "Crimson & Clover"-like tremolo effect. Arnulf Lindner's intermittent wandering classical piano recalls *And No More Shall We Part*-era (2001) Nick Cave balladry. These references to an Anglophone pop and indie past are subdued throughout the song in the same way as the Portuguese guitar--subtly popping in and out to remind the listener that this song in neither fado nor indie, but hybrid music. The minimalist inclusion of a wide variety of instruments gives primacy to the one constant: Catia Silva´s vocals--pure Lisbon fadista. Gonçalves refrains from the grandiose *Hoje*-type culmination, though he obviously has the means with respect to the available instrumentation and compositional talent he worked with on this album.[136] Perhaps this is to distance himself from the commercial tributes to Amália. Or perhaps it is an attempt to restrain his inner punk spirit, out of respect for Amália.

The song title implies Amália´s continued presence in a country divided between those that still hold to the national imagery she personified and those that wish to leave the same behind:

a cor do ceu, a luz do sol,	The color of the sky, the light of the sun
uma nuvem dourada, um areal	a golden cloud, a sandbox,
a sombra do pinheiro manso,	the shade of a pine tree,
uma praia deserta, o cantar da andorinha	an empty beach, the swallow´s song
que anuncia a primavera--	that announces spring--
são doces beijos teus.	your kisses are sweet.

[136] The Portuguese pop group Hoje was a one-off side project led by two members (Nuno Gonçalves and Sónia Tavares) of the Portuguese alternative pop/rock band, The Gift. The album, *Amália Hoje*, was released by La Folie and Valentim de Carvalho Multimédia in April of 2009, going platinum just a few months later. Although the majority of the album has an overproduced, epic quality, Hoje´s version of the Amália classic "Foi deus" is particularly over the top. It is a captivating cover with striking dynamics that bridge Amália´s delivery with an indie sensibility akin to Arcade Fire´s epic, triumphalist crescendos. However, it is easy to understand why Gonçalves would shy away from such an approach given his tendency to go in the opposite direction of popular opinion whenever possible. This is the guy, after all, who did the original styling for his earlier band, Heróis do Mar, referencing all the nationalist tropes of the Salazar dictatorship less than a decade after the revolution.

Quando vires o mar,	When you see the sea,
lembra-te de mim.	remember me.
Eu nunca, nunca te esqueci.	I never, never forgot you.
Só o mar	It is only the ocean
me separa de ti,	that separates you from me,
mas eu nunca, nunca te esqueci.	but I never, never forgot you.
A noite cai na serra.	Night falls on the mountains.
Nas maos do luar	In the moonlight´s hands
a nossa varina continua a cantar:	our fisherman´s wife still sings:
´foi deus que deu voz ao vento...´	´Twas God that gave voice to the wind.´
(Gonçalves, "Amália continua a cantar")	

Gonçalves obviously belongs to the former group. Although still a misfit ruffian at heart, the ex-Faíscas guitarist pens here the kind of dreamy, romantic lyrics that would make any self-respecting punk kid vomit. Nonetheless, given Gonçalves´s unusual hybrid background growing up as an expat within a Canadian Portuguese diasporic community, the revisiting of his confused emotions as a boy who loved but never really lived Portuguese culture is as authentic as any song by the Clash, the Ramones, or the Sex Pistols. The song is a direct tribute to Amália and an indirect tribute to the Portuguese nation itself. The first stanza places us in the mind of a reflective nostalgic Gonçalves, capturing the first hazy, impressionistic recollections of life in the homeland as an eternal spring, before he was transplanted to Toronto. The verse "São doces beijos teus" perhaps references a puppy love experienced when he next returned to Portugal for one year at the age of nine. More likely the verse refers to Portugal itself as his metaphorical lost love. Portugal, the crown of Europe, the medieval end of the world, would always "see the sea" as it were. Gonçalves lyrically remembers his promise to never forget some distant devotion preserved in the perfecting imaginary of intermittent, yet perpetual, nostalgic loss. The final verse cited above, "foi deus que deu voz ao vento" is a reference to the

chorus of one of Amália Rodrigues´s biggest hits, "Foi deus." "Foi deus" has been covered repeatedly throughout the last half century, including versions by proto-neofado (Rão Kyao) and neofado (Hoje, Donna Maria) acts. Gonçalves doesn´t touch the original but merely references it, allowing Amália and her iconic religious reverence to stand in as a metonym for the Portugal that the singer remembers missing dearly over the course of his expat life. In this way Gonçalves fluctuates between a restorative and reflective nostalgia, evoking a selective, idealized national past through the monumental figure of Amália Rodrigues. He does so, though, not to promote a national project of stasis with respect to the past, but within an individual cultural memory that lingers on the ruins and wallows in the dreams of his own past longings. Gonçalves pledges to never forget Portugal, and in writing "Amália continua a cantar" he keeps his promise while reminding his audience that indie authenticity and national pride are not mutually exclusive concepts.

Viviane´s *Labirinto da Saudade*

Fig. 14. Viviane from left to right: Tó Viegas, Viviane Parra, Jorge Caeiro at CELivrarias. 8 April 2011, from Viviane.com, 15 March 2012.

The singer/songwriter Viviane Parra, along with her longtime musical collaborator, Tó Viegas, first found national success in 1990 with the band Entre Aspas. Entre Aspas mixed Parra's distinctive accent and lyrical cadence (heavily influenced by the French pop style she grew up listening to) with jangly guitars, fast-paced accordion, synthesizers, and a repetitive rhythm section. The band toyed with a throwback sound referencing upbeat, late sixties French and Anglophone pop, while often mixing it up with modern influences ranging from The Pretenders to the Sugarcubes. Entre Aspas would eventually evolve into the present-day indie fado-tango-chanson combination, Viviane. After performing with João Aguardela and Luís Varatojo in the band Linha da Frente during the beginning of the millennium, Parra was asked by Aguardela and Varatojo to sing for the new electronic fado project they were planning, A Naifa. At the time, Parra had recently given birth to her first child and so decided to move back to her home in the Algarve. She rejected the position as vocalist for A Naifa in order to pursue her own solo project, as well as to create her own Algarve-based label, Zipmix Records. The band´s most recent album, *As pequenas gavetas do amor* (2011), was penned in part by Parra, but the majority of the song lyrics are derived from the poetry scribed by an eclectic array of Portuguese authors: Ana Luisa Amaral, Eugénio de Andrade, Rosa Alice Branco, Vasco Graça Moura, José Luis Peixoto, and Fernando Pessoa. Parra also relied on the contribution of three other Portuguese musicians for the 2011 release: Cústódio Castelo, Luís Varatojo, and António Zambujo.[137]

[137] This mix of invited guests is an appropriate representation of the musical contribution of Viviane, as well as an appropriate representation of neofado itself. Castelo is one of the most talented Portuguese guitarists in the world today. Varatojo was for decades an integral part of the Portuguese punk scene and

Viviane, like Ovelha Negra founder Paulo Pedro Gonçalves, grew up outside of Portugal, spending the majority of her adolescence in France. Also similar to Gonçalves, Parra was heavily exposed to fado at a young age. Vivane remembers that her mother constantly listened to the music of Amália Rodrigues. Her expat family was intimately connected with fado and Portuguese culture in general, pushing her to practice singing the classic songs at home and on stage. At the age of eleven Parra actually had the opportunity to open for Carlos do Carmo during a leg of one of his tours through France in the early seventies. She told me that this experience marked her greatly from a young age. Parra recognizes the fact that the development of such an unusual habitus as an adolescent greatly determined her future pursuits:

> Quando nós temos onze anos, o fado não é a música que nós gostamos mais, não é? A gente gosta de ouvir outras coisas mais adequadas à nossa idade. Mas ficou sempre esta memória e esta recordação. Depois quando eu vim viver para Portugal, interessei-me muito pela música portuguesa nos anos ´80...havia um grupo que eu gostava muito que eram os Mler Ife Dada. (Parra)
>
> (Fado isn´t a style of music that most kids at the age of eleven tend to appreciate. People like to listen to music more appropriate to their age. But this memory [of opening for Carmo] stuck with me forever. Later on when I moved to Portugal, I became very interested in eighties Portuguese music. There was a group I loved called Mler Ife Dada.)

The music of Nuno Rebelo and Anabela Duarte attracted Parra since it bridged two of her most beloved music traditions which had, prior to her exposure to Mler Ife Dada, always

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today is the Portuguese guitarist and leader of the neofado trip hop group A Naifa. Zambujo represents the newest generation of male singers that perform traditional fado professionally while often simultaneously contributing to non-fado musical productions (i.e. Camané singing for the Antonio Variações tribute band, Humanos).

seemed to exist as two distinct worlds.[138] Parra enjoyed the music of Mler Ife Dada because it was so outrageous in its indie experimentalism, and yet occasionally contained an underlying musical or lyrical sentiment related to fado. Parra was well positioned to perceive such abstract and obscured fado elements within the music of Mler Ife Dada due to a habitus which was heavily informed by fado and heavily attracted to indie. She knew by the late eighties that this was the kind of hybridity that she wanted to create. Vivane´s song "Fado mambo" lyrically pulls the listener into Parra´s world at precisely the moment that the musician begins to truly hear fado:

Um fado ouvia-se ao longe na tarde amolecida. E uma voz maior tornava maiores as nossas vidas.	In the distance one heard a fado in the pale, dull afternoon. And a greater voice made our lives better.
A voz enchia as avenidas, todas as ruas e vielas, todos os cantos da cidade, por entre sombra e claridade. E o fado ficou para sempre nas nossas vidas, nas nossas almas.	This voice filled the avenues, all the streets and alleys, every corner of the city, through the shadow and the sunlight. And fado stayed forever in our lives, in our souls.
Todos os beijos que tu me davas eram as notas dessa voz. E o fado era tudo p´ra nós. E o fado era a voz da imensa saudade. (Parra and Viegas)	All the kisses that you gave me were the notes of this voice. And fado was everything for us. And fado was the voice of immense *saudade*.

The protagonist of the song is perhaps Parra herself. We can envision her now as a young adult back in France after a brief excursion to Lisbon. She is caught in a

[138] See Chapter One for more information on the Rebelo/Duarte experimental project Mler Ife Dada.

contemplative, reflective nostalgic mood--a reverie of some short-lived tryst with a Lisbon boy. Estranged from her crush, Parra endeavors to evoke his aura by listening to the same fado song that had echoed through the cavernous labyrinth alleyways of Alfama during the lovers´ first kiss. Given the self-referential nature of fado lyricism, the lyrics Parra sings might actually also be the lyrics of the song she heard while embracing her now-lost love.

The musical hybridity of "Fado mambo" is reminiscent of Parra´s earlier indie pop band, Entre Aspas, the rhythm section punching out a very danceable meter that would be as equally inviting in a club like Lux Frágil as it would be on some Parisian street corner. "Fado mambo" is also reminiscent of the groovier, slow dance beats of other indie hybrid bands like DeVotchKa and Gotan Project.[139] The music serves to heighten the tension of Parra´s adolescent experience: While the Portuguese guitar chimes faintly throughout much of the song, it is largely buried by the much more forceful sound of the accordion. As she wistfully daydreams of the music of Lisbon, the concrete musical reality of her host country (the French Chanson *musette* sounds) predominates. It´s as if Parra were in her bedroom, cranking this fado on her stereo to no avail. Her speakers are no match for the live accordion player practicing next door. Parra realizes the effort is futile: the mechanical reproduction is a pale copy to the Benjaminian *einmalige Erscheinung*, the one-time appearance. By the first verse of

[139] DeVotchKa is a four-piece band from Denver, Colorado that composes a hybrid music combining gypsy punk with indie folk. Each member is a multi-instrumentalist which provides the band with a vast palette of sonic possibilities during live performances. To give a better idea of the live DeVotchKa show, one can hear several, or all of the following instruments: The accordion, trumpet, piano, guitar, violin, flute, bouzouki, sousaphone, double bass, drums, extra percussion, and theremin. The Parisian band, Gotan Project, is a hybrid project that blends tango with electronic music, jazz, and trip hop.

"Fado mambo" Parra has already evoked the core authenticity of the aura, the "strange tissue of space and time: the unique apparition of a distance however near it may be" (Benjamin 23)—"In the distance one hears a fado/in the pale dull afternoon/and a greater voice made our lives better." In "Fado mambo" we are voyeurs glimpsing the frustrated experience of Viviane Parra as lovelorn, melancholic expat. In recording, pressing, and releasing "Fado mambo," Parra creates an actual mechanical reproduction of her band´s auratic performance which lyrically and musically evokes our/Parra´s/her distant fadista´s own inability to repossess the respective lost aura vis-à-vis the mechanical reproduction of that very same performance. This is a mosaic of reflective nostalgic labyrinths, the kind of composition M.C. Escher (1898-1972) would have created had he taken up music or poetry instead of drawing.

Deterritorialization and *Saudade*

It is interesting how both Gonçalves, in "Amália continua a cantar," and Parra, in "Fado Mambo," reference Amália, linking her voice as a synecdoche for fado itself.[140] Both composers reference the fado voice as a metaphor for separation and the reflective nostalgic *saudade* they felt when young, experiencing a sense of lack for a world they only knew via diasporic glimpses. Their lyrics evidence an ideal world just out of reach, a simulacrum that was the Portugal in their minds. This childhood memory of the utopian Lusitania was composed for them entirely by that which their parent´s shared with them: the faded Polaroid, the picture-postcard, the black and white Portuguese film,

[140] Although Gonçalves references Amália directly, Parra does it implicitly. In the interview I conducted with Vivane she told me that the voice she refers to was a fado metonym derived from an amalgam of her earliest fadista memories and influences: Amália Rodrigues and Carlos do Carmo.

the discolored souvenir, the scratched Amália LP, the touring fadista show, etc. These are the elements of national mediascapes imported by the émigré community. As Appadurai points out, this kind of deterritorialization, such a central force of the modern world, creates new media markets "which thrive on the need of the deterritorialized population for contact with its homeland" (38). These new mediascapes provide the material for new ideoscapes in which child and adult expat alike create distinctive diasporic identities which challenge the often homogenizing heritage politics of the host nation-state. This kind of tension within the national ethnoscape lays the groundwork in which sometimes extremely violent conflicts can erupt. Luckily for Parra, the French government at the time was far less preoccupied with immigrant populations hailing from other Western European countries than those coming from North African and Eastern European countries. As was the case for Gonçalves´s émigré population in Canada, the Portuguese diaspora in France during the sixties and seventies was seen as a not-entirely welcome, but relatively innocuous encumbrance on the national imagined community.

Both Parra and Gonçalves further discursively conflate the fado voice with love and with the lover´s kiss. Fado is the longing suffered by the lover separated from the beloved. In this way both musicians reference a core fado trope: The *saudade* felt by the woman whose lover is at sea, and her premonition of an almost certain loss as she imagines her beloved fisherman tossed to die alone in a shipwreck. Alternatively, the lyrics represent the perspective of the sailor, lost at sea, facing near certain death, distantly longing for his lover´s kiss. The dual notions of *saudade* for a distant love, and *naufragio* (shipwreck) as the cruel fate that inevitably severs this long-suffering love, are

intimately linked in fado since its inception. The oldest recognized form of fado is the *fado do marinheiro* (sailor´s fado), sung by lovelorn, nostalgic Portuguese sailors on the caravel deck. The foundational myths of fado were built over several generations, sharing a similar set of themes relating to its origins. A poem published by José Régio, "Fado português," (1941) was adapted to music by Alain Oulman and became part of Amália Rodrigues´s regular repertoire. "Fado português" is a whimsical sort of lyrical epistemology of fado--as Richard Elliot calls it, "a poem of fadontology" ("The Road to Novo Fado (I)"):

O Fado nasceu um dia em que o vento mal bulia, e o céu o mar prolongava, na amurada de um veleiro, no peito de um marinheiro que estando triste cantava...	Fado was born on a day in which the wind barely stirred, and the sea stretched the sky, along the sailboat rail, in the breast of a sailor who, feeling sad, sang...
Na boca dum marinheiro do frágil barco veleiro, morrendo a canção magoada, diz o pungir dos desejos do lábio a queimar de beijos que beija o ar, e mais nada, que beija o ar, e mais nada.	In the mouth of a sailor, in a fragile sailboat, dying with a song of heartbreak, which told of a desire that pierces, from the lips burning for kisses that kisses the air and nothing else, that kisses the air and nothing else.
Mãe, adeus. Adeus, Maria. Guarda bem no teu sentido que aqui te faço uma jura: que ou te levo à sacristia, ou foi Deus que foi servido dar-me no mar sepultura. (Régio)	Goodbye mother. Goodbye Maria. Keep steadfast in your memory that here I swear to you: that either I will take you to the chapel, or it was God who was served in making the sea my grave.

Parra and Gonçalves, like Régio and Rodrigues, are heirs to a patrimony which connects Lusitania to its geographical neighbor to the west: the Atlantic. For several centuries the Atlantic Ocean signified life as well as death for Portuguese explorers. From the first

maritime explorations of Henrique O Navegador onward, the Atlantic no longer meant the end of the world, but a world of endless opportunity. Much like Portugal´s neighbor to the east, the Atlantic represents a link for Portugal to the rest of the world. Unfortunately (and also like Spain) it cannot be trusted to respect Portugal´s borders.[141] On November 1st, 1755, a Lisbon earthquake triggered a tsunami in which its neighbor to the west invaded and destroyed the majority of the city. This brief Atlantic/Tagus occupation of Portugal´s capital came just over a century after Portuguese citizens finally ejected the Spanish monarchy from the nation in 1640, following sixty years of occupation. After the earthquake, the new authoritarian chief minister, the Marquês de Pombal, would oversee the capital city´s reconstruction. The architectural vision of Pombal led to a grid system for downtown Lisbon, a stark contrast to the maze-like alleyways of the city just to the east and west of this quarter. Marquês de Pombal also limited the height of all newly constructed buildings throughout the area. We can thank him, therefore, for the impressive sights afforded us from the myriad *miradouros* (viewpoints) which spot the Lisbon hills and surround the downtown valley of the business district. More importantly for fado, the earthquake, and the subsequent Pombaline reorganization of Lisbon proper, meant that the hitherto segregated

[141] The *dominação filipina* (Philipine domination 1580-1640), as the Spanish occupation of Portugal came to be known, fostered a fierce mistrust amongst the Portuguese citizenry for centuries afterward. Perceived Spanish designs on the nation have caused in some ways a national paralysis and paranoia. This would form in the nineteenth century, as highlighted by Angel Smith and Clare Mar-Molinero "an obsessive and uncertain Portuguese nationalism reflected in the nationalist Romantic and historiographical writers of the era, who painted a picture of decline from the mid-sixteenth century, and who were preoccupied by perceived threats to Portugal's national identity. However, this was the result of a sense of backwardness, and the fear of attack from without rather than undermining from within. The major enemy was, of course, Spain" (11). They go on to point out that this wasn't a sentiment that ended in the 19th century. Paraphrasing Tom Gallagher's 1983 study *Portugal: A Twentieth Century Interpretation*, they state that "in the late 1960s discontented officers were constrained from toppling the rapidly weakening Salazarist regime for fear of possible Spanish intervention" (12).

communities of African slaves, *nouveau riche* Brazilian expats, emerging Portuguese bourgeoisie, merchants, sailors, prostitutes, bohemian artists, musicians, etc. were now shuffled together. This new social Petri dish was a primary impetus behind the cultural evolution underlying the hybrid Lisbon fado.

Both "Amália continua a cantar" and "Fado mambo" are filled with a rich fado semiotic that draws from a densely packed Portuguese patrimony. By tapping into elements of the shared cultural history embedded in the Lisbon fado repertoire, Parra and Gonçalves have extended the national imaginary to a generation of Portuguese that are largely ignorant of, or indifferent to, the details of this Lusophone yesteryear.[142]

In a sense, several of the influential Portuguese musicians highlighted in Chapter One of this book have also evidenced an ability to improvise with the forbidden fado, violating national indie conceptions of "good taste" in at least a song or two. All such musicians lay bare Bourdieu's concept in a way that takes into consideration the kind of deterritorialization and global flows that Arjun Appadurai stresses in his view of the modern day habitus:

> The stress of [Bourdieu's idea of habitus] must be put on his idea of improvisation, for improvisation no longer occurs within a relatively bounded set of thinkable postures but is always skidding and taking off, powered by the imagined vistas of mass-mediated master narratives. There has been a general change in the global conditions of life-worlds: put simply, where once improvisation was snatched out of the glacial undertow of habitus, habitus now

[142] Gonçalves and Parra, like MacGowan before them, found it easier to blur boundaries of acceptability within indie practice due to their unusual upbringing. This could potentially be contrasted with instances in which, under similar situations in other countries, visionary musicians have crossed these same barriers without being blessed with a habitus formed within an expatriate community. There most certainly exist such cases within the multifaceted international indie scene which would make for a fascinating contrast to this study.

> has to be painstakingly reinforced in the face of life-worlds that are frequently in flux. (57)

In Paulo Pedro Gonçalves we see the influence of a series of deterritorializations inscribed on his body or affecting his ability to improvise the habitus: The Gonçalves family, uprooted from their homeland, try desperately to recreate some version of national identity for their child, their diasporic community, and themselves through the Portuguese Association his father set up in Toronto. The constant travel in and out of the Portuguese homeland provided the young Gonçalves with mere strobe-light-like glimpses of what it meant to be Portuguese as well as to be a Portuguese expat. Gonçalves, once old enough to decide his own fate, chose to uproot himself from his homeland, deciding to go to London to avoid being drafted into an anachronistic and pointless colonial war. There his habitus was further informed by the glam scene so prevalent in England´s capital at the time. He would later use this first-hand experience with glam to design and sell used clothing for Todd Hayne´s cult film *Velvet Goldmine* (1998).[143] The Carnation Revolution of 1974 opened up a new world of possibilities for Gonçalves in his intermittent homeland. Gonçalves returned to Lisbon and dedicated the next two years of his life to a deterritorialization of the soul--a spiritual journey within the most Portuguese of institutions, the ashram.[144] Next, a global flow of cultural capital introduced

[143] Through Pavement, the London clothing design and resale shop he established with his wife Andreia, Gonçalves designed stage apparel for David Bowie, members of Blur, and other British music celebrities. Sandy Powell, the costume designer for Haynes´s *Velvet Goldmine*, recognized the potential of Gonçalves´s eye, skill, and collection for this film set in the early seventies London glam scene, which revolved around a fictional musician who closely resembled Ziggy Stardust-era David Bowie. Powell ended up receiving a BAFTA Award for Best Costume Design and was also nominated for an Academy Award in the same category for her work on *Velvet Goldmine*.

[144] In case there is any doubt, the sentence is meant to ironically indicate the insidiousness of the many landscapes involved in Appadurai´s concepts of global flow. Such intensity of flow had already, in 1974, infiltrated one of the most deep-seated aspects of the Portuguese imagined community: A Hindu spiritual hermitage community emerging within a nation-state until then completely defined by its Catholicism as

Gonçalves to his most cherished musical influences, punk. This raucous scene came to Gonçalves in a very literally deterritorialized form: through a flight attendant who inducted him into the punk mile-high club. That is, not with sex, but with the Sex Pistols. After trying his hand at self-expression in a sequence of Lisbon-based bands that would eventually reach cult status across Portugal, Gonçalves uprooted himself again for London. This time his deterritorialization was not forced on him by the whims of his parents or the state of his nation, but by his own determination. That said, Gonçalves´s determination is still yet not entirely autonomous. It is rather a function of the general inability of any indie musician who creates and performs Portuguese music in Portugal to achieve any level of global success within the international indie scene.

The current state of Gonçalves is the product of a fluctuating deterritorialization: After discovering the possibilities for a return to voicing the nation due to the enlightenment provided him via the nineties phenomenon of Brit-Pop, Gonçalves returned to Lisbon to record his first Ovelha Negra album. Ever since the release of *Por este andar ainda acabo a morrer em Lisboa*, Gonçalves has been shifting between the push and pull of the sound and space of his desired homeland (with its inherent limitations for global exposure) and the many economic and artistic opportunities provided by his (third) home in London.

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well as its independence within the global sphere. Portugal had spent the prior three decades completely immersed in a self-imposed global isolation. The Estado Novo motto "*orgulhosamente sós*" (proudly alone) developed out of Salazar´s obstinate defiance of the United Nations post-World War II call for developed countries to begin the process of decolonization. Salazar believed he needed the economic contribution derived from these ultramarine colonies more than he needed international respect or trade partners--thereby intending to close off Portugal to all global flows for as long as he was alive.

When not on tour, Viviane Parra prefers the quiet life of her home in the Algarve to the bustling capital. After seven years and several albums as Viviane, Parra and Viegas are still faced with an uphill battle. Viviane´s music has gained traction in other countries due to their frequent tours across Europe, but Portugal is yet a reluctant audience. Parra lamented to me that the national, state-run, radio station devoted to rock, pop, and alternative music--Antena 3--still plays Entre Aspas more frequently than they do Viviane. Perhaps Antena 3 should try spinning Viviane´s latest album, *As Pequenas Gavetas do Amor*, to see if their audience, young and old, can agree that they have more in common than meets the ear. Indie neofado--evolving as it does from two traditions based both in reflective and restorative nostalgia, both in European and American cultural heritage, both in national and expatriate experience--has the potential to bridge the sociopolitical, international, and intergenerational divides that seem to plague Portugal in the twenty-first century.

At the time of this writing, Parra continues to tour with her long-time collaborator Tó Viegas in support of her most recent album *As pequenas gavetas do amor*.[145] I saw her perform twice during my field work in Lisbon, before (at the Fábrica Braço de Prata show on November 18th, 2010) and after (at the FNAC-Chiado on April 30th, 2011) the release of this album. Her audience for the first show was sparse, perhaps due to the club´s distance from the city center. By the end of April, the FNAC show was packed with young and old alike. Although both shows were equally entertaining, I remember

[145] Viegas grew up in the Algarve and was interested in fado during the early seventies. He too began singing fado at a young age in the local *casas de fado*. Although Viegas began singing fado by the age of ten, he quickly became enamored with rock, pop, and indie music.

the intimate atmosphere of the Braço de Prata show being the perfect setting for her music.[146] At one point, during Parra´s sprightly cover of Amália´s "Caldeirada poluição" (Pollution Chowder), an older gentleman convinced the younger lady with whom he had arrived to dance with him, presumably because this was a song he knew well. Vivane had introduced this song as belonging to a fado subgenre which she referred to as "fado Al Gore." The song describes a conference held by fish and crustaceans who adamantly decry how the human race is messing everything up and polluting their waters. The image of the two dancing was particularly striking to me given the song and message. It was a perfect meeting point between two generations of Portuguese: A twenty-first-century neofado version of an odd, but catchy and kitschy fado from the seventies. The two fans playfully celebrated Viviane´s/Amália´s pollution chowder. They were undoubtedly not celebrating the decades of oil spills and industrial waste that still contaminate the Tagus, Atlantic, and other waters. Perhaps they were taking a collective, intergenerational stance in protest against such global destruction. Or perhaps they were just having some fun.

[146] The performance space now called the Braço de Prata has itself a unique position in Lisbon history. Braço de Prata was the name of the neighborhood which housed the factory for nearly a century along the eastern edge of Lisbon proper. The construction of the Braço de Prata complex coincided with the end of Portuguese monarchy. It was constructed in 1908 as the Fábrica de Projecteis de Artilharia (Artillery Projectiles Factory), changing later to the Fábrica Militar de Munições, Armas e Veículos (Military Plant for Ammunition, Weapons, and Vehicles), then finally the Fábrica Militar de Braço de Prata (Braço de Prata Military Factory). During the Salazar regime, the building doubled as a location in which Salazar´s secret police forces, known as the Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (International and State Defense Police or PIDE), could interrogate and, if necessary, torture suspected enemies of the state. The building was shut down by the end of the century. In the summer of 2007 the space was converted into a cultural center which currently houses a library, performance space, bar, and patio. The building is now an architectural symbol as well as a historic and cultural landmark which serves to remind Portuguese citizens of how much the nation has evolved over the last century. It simultaneously serves as a warning which reminds young and old alike as to the recent and fragile nature of Portuguese democracy.

Chapter 3
Iberian Indie Finds Roots

Table 3
Pony Bravo, Los Planetas, and Novembro: Members, Dates, Places, Albums, Sub-Genres, and Influences

Band Name (Location, Year Formed)	Members (Instruments)	Albums (Label, Year Published)	Sub-Genres	Primary Influences
Pony Bravo (Seville, 2006)	Daniel Alonso (singer, keyboards), Pablo Peña (bass), Darío del Moral (guitar, bass), and Javier Rivera (drums)	*Si Bajo de Espalda no me da Miedo (y otras historias)* (Discos Monterrey, 2008) *Un gramo de fe* (El Rancho, 2010) *De palmas y cacería* (El Rancho, 2013)	Blues, flamenco, 1970s-era Andalusian, U.S., and Jamaican pop music	Manolo Caracol, Son House, The Doors, Pere Ubu, Triana, Captain Beefheart, Bambino
Los Planetas (Granada, 1993)	Juan Ramón Rodríguez Cervilla (aka J—vocals and guitar), Florentino Muñoz Lozano (aka Florent--guitar), Ernesto Jiménez Linares (aka Eric--drums), Esteban Fraile Maldonado (aka Banin—keyboards and guitars), and Julián Méndez Podadera (bass)	(As an indie neoflamenco band): *La leyenda del espacio* (RCA/Sony BMG, 2007) *Una ópera egipcia* (Sony Music Entertainment, 2010)	Flamenco, indie power pop	Mercury Rev, Spacemen 3, Joy Division, Bob Dylan, Enrique Morente and Largatija Nick´s *Omega* (1996), Sonic Youth
Novembro (Lisbon, 2001)	Miguel Filipe (vocals, electric Portuguese guitar), João Pécurto (guitar), Diogo Dias (bass), Hugo Leitão (synthesizers), Rui Alves (drums). and Rodrigo Leão (piano)	*À deriva* (Lisboa Records, 2008) *Exército Fantasma* (as yet unreleased)	Fado, indie lo-fi pop, shoegaze	Thom Yorke, Mark Kozelek, Fernando Mauricio, Antonio Variações

This chapter will focus on the most relevant themes in the world of indie music, tying together this umbrella category with that of traditional Iberian urban folk via a

selection of the hybrid neofado and neoflamenco bands that I believe best exemplify the unification of both practices. All of the bands in this chapter continue in the vanguard tradition that Néstor García Canclini refers to as "rites of exit." These rites represent constant points of rupture where artistic discontinuity finds roots in the modernist vanguard artist belief that "to be in the history of art one has to be constantly leaving it" (Canclini 26). Canclini traces, via the insight of Pierre Bourdieu and Howard S. Becker among that of other contemporary philosophers, the postmodern artist´s simultaneous rejection and continuation of these rites as they borrow material from other eras in their discourse: "their method of fragmenting and dislocating [this material], the displaced or parodic readings of traditions, reestablish the insular and self-referential character of the art world" (26). Canclini has a pessimistic view of this kind of experimentalist insularity within the art world as exclusive in that, as it questions what art is via the destruction of even relatively recently established convention, it excludes "the spectator who is not disposed to make of his or her participation in art an equally innovative experience. Modern and postmodern art propose a 'paradoxical reading,' since they presuppose 'the dominion of the code of a communication that tends to question the code of communication' (27). Canclini is, above all, concerned with the efficacy of vanguard and postmodern art to represent social transformations which operate inside the very same institutions that demarcate the artist's production within the hegemonic discourse of industrialized societies. He feels that the very fact that said subversion is always eventually co-opted and consumed by the dominant guardians of artistic orthodoxy perhaps demonstrates "that autonomous experimentation and democratizing insertion in

the social fabric are irreconcilable tasks" (27). I share to a certain degree Canclini's pessimism with respect to the postmodern, vanguard, or experimental artist's ability to shift the dominant discourse in the present global economy. However, the musicians included in this and subsequent chapters strive toward reorienting perspectives of their audience on a micro and local level. Their subversion to the status quo doesn't only address local politics, but I believe it is most effective in this sphere. They structure their commentaries via a traditional urban folk aesthetic, adopting forms that have long ago been co-opted and consumed by dominant guardians of artistic orthodoxy and rejected by much of their audience. The former often tends to miss, dismiss, or disdain their contribution while the latter has their sense of national pride awakened, perhaps for the first time, upon experience of this new sound. This allows these musicians to create under the radar of those guardians with the most symbolic and cultural capital. Meanwhile, their local indie subculture audience connects such an awakened sense of national pride with the glocal values emphasized in each band's lyrics, music, and performance. The neofado and neoflamenco musicians included in this study function as independent *bricoleurs*, picking through the rubbish, ruins, and riches of their respective historical patrimony to comment on what it means to be an active, glocally concerned Iberian today. They may all be co-opted and consumed by the dominant guardians of artistic orthodoxy tomorrow, but today they function as autonomous torchbearers of a rearticulated national culture which strives to change the dominant discourse from the bottom up. The intersection of interests amongst Iberian indie urban neofolk musicians, each drawing from their distinct habitus to effectively influence national discourse,

requires them to maintain a certain liminal status while simultaneously accruing what Pierre Bourdieu refers to as symbolic and economic capital. The Iberian urban neofolk musician that I focus on has struggled to juggle these often contradictory strategies. By drawing from musical and semantic codes from the national past, these musicians bridge a spacio-temporal cultural gap for many of their fans while commenting on the spectrum of pressing socio-political issues that are the product of a complex globally connected present. The use of a prestigious historical patrimony functions to satisfy a cultural need to bestow a dense signification on the present.

This study attempts to dialogue with several of such issues raised by Canclini and Bourdieu, as well as other philosophers and critics on the subject of hybrid glocal cultural creations by offering case studies based on my recent fieldwork on twenty-first-century Iberian indie urban neofolk music. The use of national folklore by the musicians presented in this chapter is examined with respect to his or her position as global postmodern citizen, as glocal representative of social transformations occurring within the neighborhood and across the world, and as indie or indie electronic music practitioner struggling to balance conflicting demands for authenticity within this new hybrid scene while still trying to survive financially in an overly saturated and poorly remunerated medium. In order to better understand the shared affinity amongst experimentalist vanguard and indie artists to break with convention via such "rites of exit," I begin this chapter with the indie neoflamenco generic pioneers, Pony Bravo. Pony Bravo exhibits a desire to break with previously codified forms of sonic representation via the perspective gained from their eclectic origins and influences. Pony Bravo lead singer, Daniel Alonso,

also takes this initiative into the world of visual arts in his prolific photomontage work for the band's promotional posters.

I next analyze the neoflamenco band Los Planetas to discuss indie's intense preoccupation with authenticity. The acceptance of Los Planetas´ new trajectory by many of the powerful icons and critics within the traditional flamenco scene, and its rejection or ridicule by many fans and critics within the Spanish indie scene simultaneously exemplifies and defies what Pierre Bourdieu would consider as sacralizing desacralizations.[147] Finally, I use the indie neofado band Novembro as a case study revolving around the opportunities and pitfalls of DIY production. This final topic pits *bricolage* against globalization on the microscopic level as seen through a particularly innovative, talented, creative, conflicted, and fiercely independent recluse: Novembro's Miguel Filipe. Novembro´s music, photomontage artwork, and industrial design are analyzed with respect to the hybridity inherent in both *bricolage* and globalization.

Pony Bravo: Twenty-First-Century Indie Neoflamenco Pioneers

When considering indie music in any of its myriad sub-generic forms, one must always begin by establishing the trailblazers. The indie innovator of any subgenre is,

[147] The term ´sacralizing desacralizations´ was coined by Canclini but attributed by the author to a sentiment expressed by Pierre Bourdieu with respect to the limits of the sacrilegious rituals often involved in artistic innovation which "´scandalize no one but the believers.´ Nothing demonstrates better the tendency toward the self-absorbed functioning of the artistic field than the fate of these apparently radical attempts at subversion, which ´the most heterodox guardians of artistic orthodoxy´ finally devour" (Canclini 27). I discuss below how the Los Planetas's album *La leyenda del espacio* (2007), for many orthodox flamenco musicians, critics, and fans, effectively normalized and sacralized the subversive desacralization of indie neoflamenco.

itself, an essential trope of the genre. In order to consider the point of rupture when a specific subgenre is fractured into two or more variations within the scene, it is critical to look at the band(s) behind the division. For the majority of indie music lovers, an awareness of pioneering bands and albums goes hand in hand with an intimate knowledge of the generic predecessors that these bands reference.

The movement toward a more locally inspired, but internationally aware musical creation is one of the few sonic innovations of the recent era. Whereas, in the past, an innovation in the music industry often allowed musicians to explore new aural horizons, much of such modernization over the last decade has only benefited the end user: Napster (and its file-sharing progeny); the iPod; ringtones; music-streaming services (Spotify, Pandora, Last.fm); social networks useful for discovering new music through band pages found on Facebook, Myspace, etc. Recent innovations have had little effect on the musical production itself. One needs only to compare these products and services to an innovation such as the microphone, the phonograph, or radio. The invention of the microphone, for instance, would allow singers to produce vocal melodies on a more intimate scale while still reaching a vast audience. A vocalist could now play with dynamics, moving from whisper to shout without a note being lost in large auditoriums, and, eventually, even within the stadium. The innovation of the phonograph, although initially conceived as a way for machine to imitate man, essentially had the opposite effect as audiences (now accustomed to listening to the flawless performance that an LP would consistently provide) began to expect that the live performance should be able to

precisely imitate the recorded version.[148] The advent of radio allowed for a conceptualization of popular taste on a much larger scale than ever available in the past. Radio also paved the way for the creation of an influential music industry machine with global reach. Power was increasingly concentrated into the hands of fewer and fewer record labels. By the end of the century, one could talk of the Big Four major labels: Universal, Sony, Warner, and EMI. The major labels influenced musical production to such a degree that most successful rock and pop bands throughout the last half of the twentieth century would be forced to abandon their muse for the sake of marketability.

The technological innovations of the past decade may not have had such a great influence on musical production as those of the last century, but they have provided the impetus and the means for experimentation on a micro scale. The availability of software programs targeted toward user-friendly music production, recording, editing, and pressing (or simply posting online) has demolished the barriers to entry for aspiring musicians. Apps available for the iPhone 4 have made it possible for a band to compose, record, release, and tour its album without ever actually picking up what was traditionally known as an ´instrument´. DIY no longer means an interesting lo-fi musical creation, but

[148] This invention, however, can be contrasted with its modern-day successor, Pro Tools. Pro Tools is the most profound exception to the general lack of influence by recent technological innovation on musical production. Pro Tools was developed by Berkeley graduates Peter Gotcher and Evan Brooks in 1984. The first version was released in 1991 offering 4 tracks, but by 1997 had already allowed for 24 bit, 48 track versions. This revolution in recording and editing music began a transition for the average indie musician from working in professional or semi-professional studios to eventually being able to do everything from a home studio. It had in many ways the opposite effect for the amateur musician that the first recording technology created: instead of recording a perfect version of any given track and then having to repeat it flawlessly during live performance, the indie musician could now find success without ever recording even once a perfect version since the ability to edit recording flaws could be executed on the most microscopic levels. Once recorded, extremely intricate and difficult guitar or drum tracks could just be later reproduced live via the same computer that it was recorded on by the click of a button. Musicians essentially need *never* play the song correctly, that is, exactly as it is heard by the fan or critic.

rather a slick production that can rival even the releases of the Big Four Majors. Marketing and tour management can be done solely via social networks and blogs. The pressing and distribution of physical CDs have become, for many indie bands, a waste of time since most fans want either a collectors-edition LP, a cheap digital copy, or a free digital download.

The obvious effect of all of the technological revolutions of the last decade is a greater global supply of musical production. This should carry with it the increase in discernment amongst music consumers. Although demand may increase due to the easy access that some of this technology provides to the end user, the time available for the actual intentional consumption of said musical products remains constant. This fosters the Kleenex culture detailed in the introduction of my study. There is ever more music being produced with a practically inverse relation to its actual consumption. So how does a band stand out nowadays when supply has far outpaced demand? More specifically, how does a band originating from a locale that has historically been on the periphery of the international music scene make a living as it competes against not only the global reach of the primarily Anglocentric music industry majors, but also the Iberian copycats of whatever ´hot´ sound that industry seems to be pushing at the time?[149] I argue that

[149] It should be noted that Spain and Portugal are not equally peripheral. Spain, due to the historical reach of the Spanish language across the globe, as well as a shared culture with the majority of populations across the Americas, has long enjoyed a much greater market influence with respect to its cultural exports. The vast, affluent, Spanish speaking audience within the United States is a powerful market driver for Spanish popular music exports. Portugal, by comparison, has precious little market opportunity for cultural exports due to the relatively limited global influence of the Portuguese language. Portugal should seemingly have a potential cultural trade partner in one of the most promising nations comprising the emerging BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) economies, Brazil, but has yet to successfully break into this market. Portugal indeed consumes a large quantity of Brazilian musical exports, but the relationship is far from reciprocal. This is mainly due to the Brazilian perception of Portuguese pronunciation as practically impenetrable. Some Portuguese musicians (such as the jazz performer, Pedro Abrunhosa, and the pop rock band Os

many of the indie bands highlighted in this chapter have considered these various forces and are creating a distinct sound, steeped in a rich national semiotic. Although this sound may not necessarily appeal to a global audience, it could probe the potential for consumption by an enlightened glocal audience. In the first chapter, I highlighted a handful of groups that are prototypes of such a glocally oriented Iberian indie urban neofolk scene. In the interest of starting the debate as to the pioneers of the indie neoflamenco and neofado movements, I would like to suggest the two most likely candidates based on my research: Pony Bravo and Ovelha Negra, respectively.[150] Rooted in the glocal, both Ovelha Negra and Pony Bravo have ignited a renewed interest in what it means to be simultaneously an Iberian citizen and a citizen of the world. This sonic and conceptual "rite of exit" must be considered as a product of the various spheres of global influence prevalent at or around the time of its inception. At the same time, the neoflamenco and neofado indie bands which began life outside the urban folk sounds of flamenco and fado are engaged in their own rite of (re)entry into the sphere of national tradition.

Delfins) have tried with limited success to break into the Brazilian market by toning down their European Portuguese accent. However, those Portuguese groups with the greatest presence amongst Brazilian music fans have achieved their reception via the alternative, universal language of electronic music. The Portuguese electronic dance music band Baraka Som Sistema has successfully attracted a large Brazilian following since they began performing a hybrid sound combining techno beats with the African kuduro in 2006. Likewise, the Portuguese musician Marco Miranda (aka M-Pex) has been well received amongst drum & bass fans in Brazil due to his exploration of the hybrid crossing of electronic beats with the Portuguese guitar. I look at M-Pex in greater depth in the following chapter.

[150] See Chapter Two for more information on the Portuguese indie electronic neofado group Ovelha Negra.

Fig. 15. Pony Bravo and pony. Photograph by Celia Macías, 19 April 2009, from Flickr Creative Commons, 07 June 2013.

Pony Bravo members Daniel Alonso and Pablo Peña come across in many of their interviews as apathetic, sarcastic hipsters. Often decked out in ironic, secondhand clothing (woven Christmas sweaters, Hawaiian shirts, wifebeaters, etc.); sporting scruffy facial hair, bedhead, and bedface; they invoke weighty terms such as "Black Power" with an air of tongue-in-cheek indifference that would make the most jaded indie scenester blush. Such a vapid posture makes it difficult to take the band seriously. And yet, when it comes to the political potential of their art, Pony Bravo is very serious:

> Tomar una actitud subversiva o crítica para mí no es una elección sino una obligación. Porque me parece una falta de respeto montar un grupo y forzar de cierta manera…sin tener en cuenta todo lo que se ha hecho. Entonces al final la decisión de meter un poco de caña con los carteles o las canciones...pues que si no, no merece la pena para nosotros montar toda la movida…El humor ayuda que activa la parte más inteligente …y ayuda un poco a poder hablar de otros temas. (Ponybravo)
>
> (To take a subversive or critical position for me is not a choice but an obligation. Because it seems to me like a lack of respect when someone works hard to try to

> start a band…without considering what has been done before [by other influential bands, artists, thinkers, historical figures, etc.]. So, in the end, the decision to poke a bit of fun with the posters or the songs…if we didn't do that it wouldn't be worth it for us. Humor helps activate intelligence…and it helps a bit to provide a space in which to talk about other [more important] topics.)

Pony Bravo´s political subversion often manifests itself as a leftist critique of Anglophone cultural and political hegemony. They were the first group to engage controversial local and global socio-political topics vis-à-vis an Andalusian cultural imaginary, flamenco aesthetics, and an especially indie soundscape/ethos/aesthetic. There were, to be sure, a few neoflamenco bands that preceded Pony Bravo which could be considered indie according to Wendy Fonarow's criteria, specifically with regards to modes of distribution. Nevertheless, Pony Bravo embodies a holistic indie aesthetic to a greater degree than any other band included in this study. More importantly, they were the first band to truly create a multifaceted indie neoflamenco and *glocal* hybrid art--one of the central focuses of this book.

In 2008, the members of Pony Bravo created their own Seville-based label, El Rancho Casa de Discos, which manages much of the band's activities as well as those of their side project, the post-punk band Fiera.[151] Pony Bravo´s music has been interpreted by fans and Spanish music critics as an attempt to connect the sound and rhythm of the various marginalized "souths": U.S. southern roots rock and blues, Andalusian rock, flamenco, African and Jamaican rhythms, etc. (Ceballos, Pato, Gallardo, Txopo,

[151]Fiera is a side project which references another set of influences altogether. Fiera´s overall aesthetic draws entirely from early post punk innovators (The Fall, Pere Ubu, Wire, etc.). Fiera´s music derives its influences almost exclusively from Anglophone sources and is marked by angular rhythms along with caustic lyrics and imagery. All of Pony Bravo's and Fiera's recordings are purchasable in physical format or as a free digital download. Either option is available via the Pony Bravo website, El Rancho casa de discos.

Guerola). The band musically draws inspiration from a diverse set of canons: the flamenco styling of Manolo Caracol and the blues of Son House, The Doors and Triana, Captain Beefheart and Bambino, etc. Pony Bravo underscores analogies between these various influences via their own music. Although the indie sound often predominates in Pony Bravo's musical creation, the band's incorporation of flamenco rhythms, melodies, harmonies, structures, methods, and tropes is evident in the majority of the songs they have released to date. When performing live, Alonso often warms his vocals to the song's key via the *temple*. The *temple* is traditionally initiated by the flamenco singer within the first few measures of music performed by the guitarist. It is used as a means to condition the voice to the tone and tempo of any flamenco tune. A recorded example of Alonso's use of *temple* can be found on the track "El rayo." Although not explicitly stated anywhere on Pony Bravo's album or website (nor is it mentioned in any article about the band), "El rayo" borrows lyrics, rhythms, and vocal melodies from the Beni De Cádiz song "Tormento de mis tormentos." The guitar in "El rayo" is performed via a muted attack on all strings, functioning primarily as a percussive instrument that simulates the steady, rapid beat of the *palmas* on "Tormento de mis tormentos." This rhythmic structure is doubled toward the end via the incorporation of the drums which ever so slightly echo the beat established by Dario del Moral´s attack. Both Pony Bravo´s "El rayo" and Beni de Cádiz´s "Tormento de mis tormentos" begin with the following verses:

Yo no le temo a los rayos.	I don´t fear the lightning bolts.
Yo no le temo a los rayos.	I don´t fear the lightning bolts.
Porque tienen luz y brío,	Because they have a light and spirit
lo mismo que mi caballo.	just like that of my horse.

Death here is not to be feared because it is quick and brilliant. It is compared to the man´s one true companion, his horse. Although "El rayo" then diverges lyrically from "Tormento de mis tormentos," the sentiment expressed in both songs is similar. Both seem to warn the listener of the tragedy inherent in loving certain types of women. Beni de Cádiz learns the hard way to stay away from such women after falling in love with one María de los Dolores. He generalizes the loss of sanity he experienced by loving *this* woman to cover the love of any woman:

Yo me enamoré una vez.	I fell in love once.
Ya no me enamoro más.	I don´t fall in love anymore.
Yo tengo por entendido	Now I know
que el hombre que se enamora	that he who falls in love
termina loco perdido.	ends up a lost madman.

The love of this woman left the protagonist withering, lost, and insane--a slow and agonizing death compared with that brought by the lightning bolt. Alonso dialogues in a way with this song as an apprentice in the ways of flamenco love. Although he doesn´t seem to accept the idea that *all* women are bad news, he has learned to stay vigilant, cautious of the twenty-first-century version of the María de los Dolores that Beni de Cádiz´s had warned him about:

Eres una hoguera de color Moreno.	You are a brunet bonfire.
En tu bello pelo se muere cualquiera.	Anyone would die in your beautiful hair.
Vete de mi vera, rosa venenosa.	Get away from me venomous rose.
Que dejas señales de penas mortales	You leave behind death sentences
por donde has pasao.	everywhere you go.
("El rayo")	

Whereas Beni de Cádiz believes all love ends in madness, Alonso singles out here a single woman, directly addressing her via second person singular verbs and pronouns.

The essentialist narratives of the flamenco lyrical canon are tempered by Pony Bravo´s postmodern acknowledgment that all such black and white classifications are, and always have been, manmade. Not all women are femme fatales, nor will all women drive men crazy, just some. Alonso takes the advice of his cultural ancestors and interprets it through a contemporary lens. Pony Bravo´s diachronic dialogue with the tropes and tones of flamenco past, performed via an international indie identity, provides its twenty-first-century audience with a manner in which to engage the present as hybrid culture connoisseurs of a new glocally constructed imagined community.

Notwithstanding, the band's sardonic, witty lyrics typically deal with contemporary issues, often manipulating national and international signifiers of political and multinational corporate power. For example, the song "Super-Broker" creates a scene in which an Andalusian is found bragging to his fellow countrymen of his recently found wealth as an early investor in the multinational agricultural biotechnology firm Monsanto:

Monsanto, Monsanto:	Monsanto, Monsanto:
Has invertido muy bien…	You have invested well.
Paraíso fiscal…	Fiscal Paradise…
Has invertido muy bien…	You have invested well…
Tú no sabe´ con quien está!	Do you know who I am!?!
Todo´ somo´ un poquito Americano:	We are all a bit American:
Nos gusta dinero,	We like money,
ser lo primero,	we like to be number one,
como Super-Broker...	like a Super-Broker.
Vente conmigo niña,	Come with me little girl,
que va´ a trepar:	you´re gonna flip out:
Tengo todo´ lo´ contacto´	I have all the contact info
del Banco Mundial.	of [every member] of the World Bank.
(Alonso)	

The lyrics of "Super-Broker" represent (with the exception of the verses "has invertido muy bien") an internal monologue, or a dialogue where only that which is said by the protagonist is recounted.[152] The listener can imagine the super-broker recounting his financial conquests while knocking back sherry in some neighborhood bar in Seville. The character enters the bar, buys a round for the local drunks, and proceeds to tell his story, congratulated repeatedly with the phrase "has invertido muy bien." Alonso writes "Super-Broker" almost entirely in the first person. The accent changes mid-song from Castilian to Andalusian (most noticeable when the protagonist begins to drop the letter s from the end of certain plural nouns and second person singular verbs). As the protagonist becomes more inebriated, he loses his refined Castilian accent and begins to slip into a more Andalusian one, betraying his local roots to a crowd that has either disappeared or lost interest. He attempts to win back his audience and regain his superior position by exclaiming "tú no sabe´ con quien está!" The investor then philosophizes on how the American super-broker is a metonym for a current global society that strives for money and primacy. Finally, the protagonist name drops his connections with members of the World Bank while trying to pick up a young local girl à la Manolo Escobar.[153] The particular multinational corporation chosen by the investor is Monsanto, a company that has been seen by many ecologically minded international citizens as a primary root of

[152] Which recalls the Churchill quote: "History is written by the victors." The protagonist represents one of the few victors in the aftermath of the global financial meltdown in Spain. National unemployment in 2011 reached 21.6 percent. 2011 Unemployment in Andalusia was 30.4 percent ("Regional Unemployment Rates in 2011" 5). Pony Bravo's super-broker is completely alienated from the suffering of his surroundings. His bragging is salt in the wounds of his audience. Instead of tact, he has 'contacts.'

[153] The "Super-Broker" lyric references one of Spanish singer and actor Manolo Escobar´s biggest hits, the Andalusian copla "Vente conmigo niña."

environmental evil for decades.[154] "Super-Broker" uses national linguistic signs to nod at the local performance of an international playboy. It employs the globally connected high-finance world of self-absorbed hyper-capitalism to comment on this culture´s effect on the local and national value system. It references the global financial meltdown and the Andalusian copla. By drawing from musical and semantic codes from the national present and past, Pony Bravo links a cultural gap for their Spanish audience while raising several socio-political issues that are a product of the complex globally connected present: The corruption and greed underlying the recent international economic crisis; the environmental danger posed by multinational polluters like Monsanto; and a vain, materialistic cultural value system seeping into the worldview of an Andalusian population traditionally marked by a co-operative leftist ideology.

The Alpha and the Omega of Pony Bravo Imagery

Over the last half decade of the noughties, Pony Bravo has created a new sense of the glocal in sound and lyric. This wild play of musical glocal signs is reinforced visually via the promotional photomontage poster art (for upcoming concerts and albums) designed by the band's lead vocals and keyboardist, Daniel Alonso. Alonso

[154] Monsanto scientists were the first to genetically modify a plant cell in 1982. The various patents the company has on its genetically modified seeds have created international controversy, spawning several lawsuits by and against the corporation. One of the primary complaints by agriculturalists against the company is the difficulty (and, in some cases, even illegality) involved in purchasing seeds that are not genetically modified. Amongst other controversies, it is the terminator seed which has drawn the most scorn for Monsanto. Farmers in several U.S. states have complained that they are forced to buy Monsanto seeds which produce plants that have sterile offspring. They feel compelled to buy these seeds out of fear of potential Monsanto lawsuits against them for violating the corporation´s genetic patents. If said farmer´s seed is pollinated by Monsanto seed from neighboring fields, the corporation can legally demand payment for the introduction of seeds that he did not try nor desire to use. If the farmer decides to buy Monsanto´s genetically modified seeds, he will need to repurchase the Monsanto product every year since the plants produced by the terminator seeds do not flower or grow fruit after the initial planting.

primarily draws inspiration for his artwork from Miguel Brieva, Josep Renau, and John Heartfield.[155] This mix of influences is readily apparent in the social and political commentaries which are often the central focus of Alonso's photomontage artwork which double as promotional posters for upcoming concerts. Alonso integrates images and icons which belong to diverse semantic chains into a cohesive narrative imagery that manages to expound simultaneously on global and local issues. The prolific output of Alonso for Pony Bravo could easily be the subject of an entire book on the rearticulation of national and international signifiers. For the sake of brevity, I focus below on just three of his posters.

As mentioned above, Pony Bravo´s lyrical and pictorial subversion tends to represent an antagonist stance against Anglophone cultural hegemony while addressing concerns of Spain´s political left. Alonso´s photomontages reference internationally recognized icons or globally shared dilemmas alongside imagery that is specific to the band´s hometown, Seville. The *bricolage* method underlying the art of photomontage is itself yet another form of hybridity. The first Pony Bravo photomontage that I analyze places the viewer in a setting that, like "Super-Broker," is heavily coded in the glocal. The title of the poster, *Procesión de las Azores* (Azores procession), specifically

[155] Miguel Brieva, born in Seville in 1974, is a Spanish humorist known for his 40s- and 50s-era vignettes reminiscent of American films and commercials, which are normally accompanied by short texts typically socio-political in nature.
Josep Renau Berenguer, born in Valencia in 1907, was a painter known primarily for his photomontages and murals which often celebrated communist principles while attacking fascism and what he perceived as an inherent hypocrisy of Western capitalist countries (and more specifically American) which, in the pursuit of the freedom to consume as much as possible, had left only death and destruction of much of the rest of the world in their wake.
John Heartfield, born as Helmut Herzfeld in Berlin in 1891, was a Dadaist and Communist who emigrated to Czechoslovakia after the rise of the National Socialists party in 1933. He is best known for his antifascist photomontages which combined forceful images attacking Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime.

references the collaboration of Iberian and U.S./U.K. governments during the March 16th, 2003, Cumbre de las Azores (Azores summit). The summit, held in the Portuguese archipelago of the Azores, included the heads of state representing England, Spain, Portugal, and the United States. The only leader not included in Alonso´s photomontage is the host of the meeting, the ex-Prime Minister of Portugal, José Manuel Durão Barroso. The summit resulted in a joint decision to present then leader of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, with an ultimatum forcing him to disarm or face a multilateral war. Hussein of course couldn´t disarm his weapons of mass destruction due to the fact that (as later became clear) he never had any to begin with. Spain´s alliance with the United States and England during the Iraqi invasion was heavily protested by its national citizens. It also greatly angered the Muslim fundamentalist group Al Qaeda, leading to the jihadist retaliation now referred to in Spain as 11M.[156] The following Pony Bravo photomontage juxtaposes the Seville Easter processions with the Azores summit heads of state as participants and leaders. Alonso's photomontage critiques the encroachment of foreign, rightist political influence on Spanish governmental leaders:

[156] Just as U.S. citizens refer to the New York City World Trade Center attacks with the abbreviation 9/11, 11M is the abbreviation Spaniards use to refer to the March 11, 2004, Madrid train bombings. The bombings occurred just three days before the 2004 national general elections. Initially, it was widely thought that the bombings were the work of ETA. This thesis was quickly dismissed though due to the fact that the method and scale of the attack was extremely uncharacteristic of the Basque separatist terrorist group. The People´s Party (PP) government, nevertheless, continued to blame ETA even after evidence overwhelmingly pointed to extremist Islamic fundamentalists. The perception that PP leaders had hid information about the details behind the attack gave rise to public outcry manifesting itself in the bitter rejection of Aznar and the PP during the following election cycle. The PSOE´s José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero was subsequently elected Prime Minister on March 14th, 2004.

Fig. 16. *Procesión de las Azores* by Diseño Daniel Alonso, 07 August 2008, from Flickr Creative Commons, 15 March 2012.

In the above image, Partido Popular (People´s Party, PP) ex-Prime Minister José María Aznar is depicted marching happily alongside American neoconservatives Dick Cheney and George W. Bush, as well as former British Prime Minister Tony Blair. All are wearing the traditional dress of the Semana Santa (Holy Week) brotherhoods. The tone of the imagery indexes it at once as glocal and sinister. The Spanish viewer could perhaps interpret these neoconservative icons as dressed not in the Semana Santa ceremonial dress, but rather in the clothing representing the American, ultra-conservative, racist Ku Klux Klan brotherhood. The U.S. currency floating above these figures encodes the reading of the image to indicate the true purpose behind this coalition´s

ousting of Saddam Hussein. The float they precede carries two masked characters as Christ figures in place of the standard, traditional icons of Catholic martyrdom. These two characters--throwbacks to 1950s-era science fiction futurist dystopia villains--reinforce the signs of a surreal alien influence which has superseded local sovereignty. The black-and-white imagery and mid-twentieth-century sci-fi cultural references combine to create a diachronic dialogue with Spain´s troubled post-World War II relationship with the United States and England. Franco´s Spain, although technically neutral, had been seen as sympathetic to the Axis powers and thus was the only Western European nation excluded from the Marshall Plan´s post-war economic assistance.[157] Aznar´s government is then symbolically linked to various shortcomings of its right-wing political ancestor, the Franco regime. For the Spanish viewer, this subversive semiotic link potentially conjures up all kinds of nasty, embarrassing connotations.[158] Although by the time this picture was designed all four political leaders had already been ousted from power, the corrupting influence of conservative Anglophone political discourse,

[157] After Axis forces were finally defeated in 1945, many speculated that the right-wing authoritarian Franco regime would be ousted as well. Franco showed his Machiavellian ability to maintain power by remaining somewhat useful to the U.S. government during the Cold War as an anti-communist ally. The Cold War would effectively save the Franco regime in that the U.S. government provided funds priorly denied to Spain under the Marshall Plan. One of Spain's first neorealist films, Luís García Berlanga´s *¡Bienvenido Mister Marshall!* (1953), juxtaposed the bleak reality of an economically ravaged, post-war Spain with the imagery exported by the Franco regime: that of Spain as a carefree nationwide extension of Andalusia.

[158] Two examples of such potential connotations:
1. The ex-Prime Minister´s defiance of the majority Spanish will as collaborator with the Bush government attack on an Iraq that was allegedly stockpiling weapons of mass destruction: Aznar´s weak but willing position in a coalition that many Spaniards believe to have been driven by greedy, imperialist ambitions echoes Franco´s frustrated attempts at collusion with Hitler´s takeover of Europe.
2. A convenient influence of the U.S. dollar on Spanish politics: The conservative nature of the Aznar government seemed naturally aligned with the interests of the Bush neoconservative presidency (privatization, deregulation, and the imposition of fiscal austerity on nation-states). Spanish political and economic decisions which favored U.S. government and corporate interests could thus be perceived as a product of a locally concerned conservative ideology instead of resulting from foreign economic persuasion. Likewise, Franco´s position as staunchly anti-communist was profitable for an ailing Spanish economy which effectively traded national sovereignty for a steady stream of U.S. economic largesse.

combined with the incipient global financial meltdown, had left the Spanish nation reeling culturally as well as economically.

Alonso´s hybrid bricolage art form often pieces together his eclectic interest in global pop culture and local society and politics. The end result is typically a sort of glocal Frankenstein in which the images of globally recognized icons are cut up and superimposed onto internationally or locally identifiable backgrounds, fashioning new subversive configurations. Observe, for example, the late global pop superstar, Michael Jackson, dressed up below as la Virgen de la Macarena:

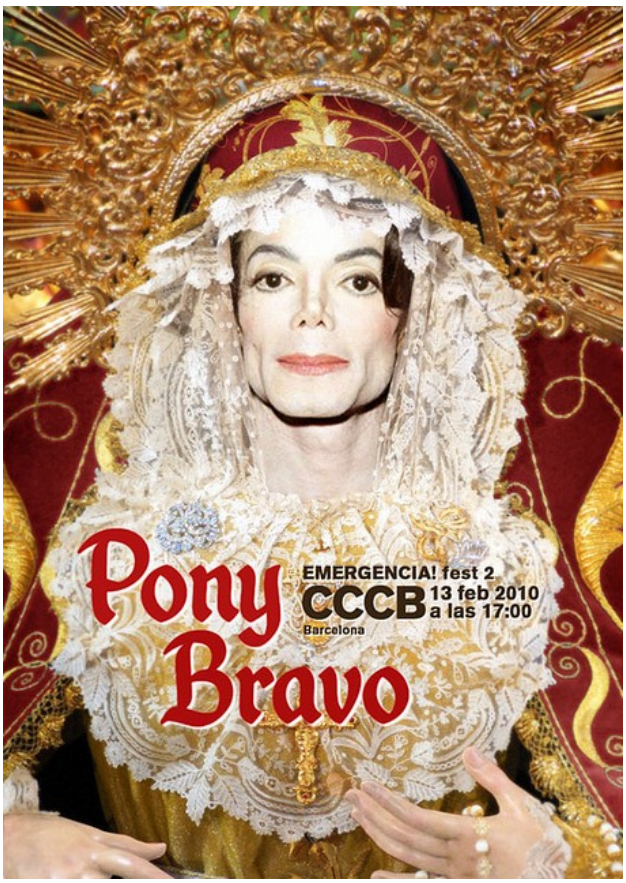

Fig. 17. *Concierto en el cccb* by Diseño Daniel Alonso, 24 January 2010, from Flickr Creative Commons, 28 November 2012.

The Macarena virgin known as María Santísima de la Esperanza Macarena, (Blessed Mary of Macarena Hope) is in honor of Mary, the mother of Jesus. This particular image is one of the most commonly used icons during Seville´s Semana Santa. The Macarena virgin is associated with the Basílica de La Macarena, located in the Seville neighborhood of San Gil. Macarena is also the traditional and historical name of the area of Seville located just north of the city center. Superimposing the image of an alleged pedophile onto that of the city´s most revered image of Mother Mary was, to say the least, generally frowned upon. The poster was designed by Daniel Alonso after one of his greatest artistic influences, Miguel Brieva, requested that he create a photomontage interpretation of the Seville-based marching band Las Cigarreras´s solemn homage to Michael Jackson, shortly after the pop star´s untimely death. As Las Cigarreras marched across the Plaza de San Francisco, the medley they performed, including Jackson megahits such as "Beat It," "Billy Jean," and "Thriller," had all the gravitas of a Semana Santa procession. In the above photomontage Alonso deftly captures this surreal encounter between a somber expression of regional religiosity and the local celebration of embedded Anglophone popular culture.

Alternatively, instead of reveling ironically in glocal pop culture, Alonso composes hybrid photomontages in which the focal icon is a globally shared dilemma imagined within the Seville cityscape. The following poster artwork includes a variety of architectural and symbolic references which place the viewer in Seville while disorienting the imagery by picturing it within a dystopian future. The image foreground evokes a pressing internationally shared concern: the devastating effects of global

warming. Akin to many of Alonso´s influences, the mix of images creates a provocative juxtaposition in which the humorous and the surreal are accompanied by the serious and the all-too-real. Alonso, however, distinguishes himself from his influences by frequently incorporating a glocal imagery.

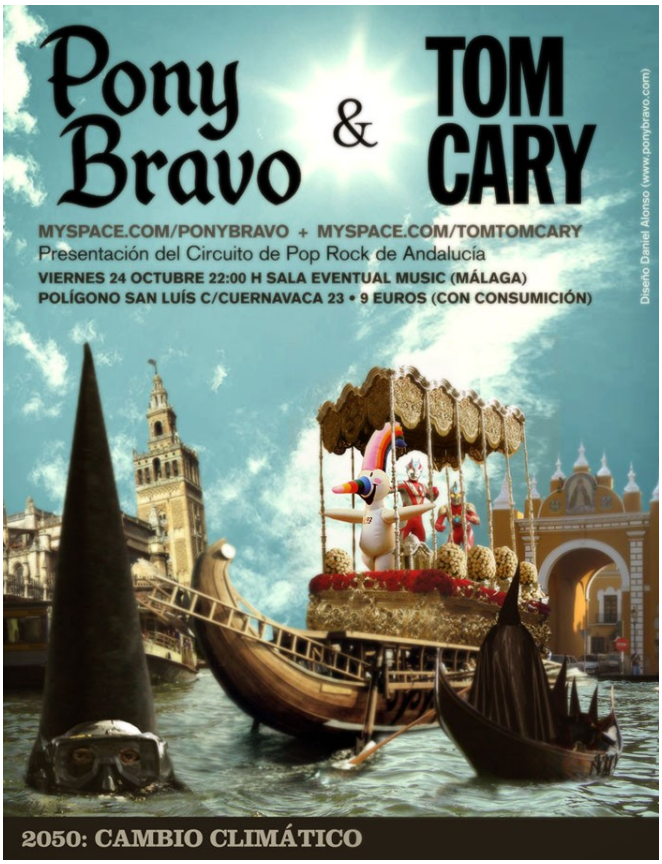

Fig. 18. *2050: Cambio climático* by Diseño Daniel Alonso, 12 August 2010, from Flickr Creative Commons, 15 March 2012.[159]

In this photomontage, titled "2050: Cambio climático," the image of futuristic dystopia within a Seville still celebrating Semana Santa underwater is lightened by the ridiculous presence of Curro, the toucan-like mascot for the Universal Exposition of

[159] The title in English would translate to 2050: Climate Change. This poster was created by Daniel Alonso for a Pony Bravo show titled "Presentación del Circuito de Pop Rock de Andalucia" (Presentation of the Andalusian Pop Rock Circuit). Click Daniel Alonso for a complete collection of the artist's photomontage work for Pony Bravo.

Seville (Expo ´92) which took place on Cartuja Island from April 20 to October 12, 1992 with the theme of "The Age of Discovery." The October date for the Expo marked the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus´s arrival to Guanahani (which he named San Salvador) in what is now The Bahamas. The photomontage references Columbus´s famous journey to the new world explicitly on two levels: in a more obvious way via Curro, and the boat he rides on, while also on a more subversive level that one could interpret as a "new underwater world" set in the future. If we consider October 12th, 1492, as possibly the first moment when old world and new world cultures ceased to evolve separately and started to become intertwined, this can be construed as the day the seeds of an all-encompassing globalization were first sowed.[160] The reference to this metaphorical sowing of globalization is juxtaposed to its metaphorical harvest as a catastrophic flood brought on by the effects of global industrialization which would lead to internationally unsustainable levels of carbon emissions, resulting eventually in the melting of polar ice caps that (according to Alonso) finds Seville, and presumably the rest of the world, underwater. The figure of the mascot Curro as Columbus is simultaneously representing the Biblical figure Noah set in the future. The first mythical world flood then is juxtaposed with the final global inundation, linking both to the critical reference point of the beginning of globalization. Alonso could be seen here to invoke at once the alpha and the omega of globalization, an event where he, as a glocal artist, resides, spatially and temporally, in between.

[160] I wish to distinguish here between globalization and hybridity. I do not mean to infer here that cultural hybridity began with the arrival of Columbus to the New World. Hybridity in all of its forms can truly be considered to date back before recorded history. Yet globalization inherently implies a worldwide interconnectedness, and one cannot conceive of the existence of such an international network prior to the inclusion of the land which is now referred to as the Americas.

The image in the foreground of a member of the Semana Santa brotherhood, still performing the traditional rites of the Easter procession while wearing swim goggles, provides levity to an imagery charged with the apocalyptic. In the same way that the references to globalization point to the foundation and finality of this era, the reference here to the observance of Holy Week, which dates back to the period considered to coincide with the beginnings of Christianity as a religion with global reach, is juxtaposed with the Christian belief of end times described (albeit with quite different imagery) in The Book of Revelation.[161]

The background image of the Giralda, one of a handful of architectural metonyms Alonso utilizes to signify Seville in his photomontages, seemingly poised to finally come crashing down on the inundated city, is yet another symbol indicating origin and conclusion. The Giralda has been an iconic structure for Seville stretching back for nearly a millennium. Construction on the tower was begun in 1184 and completed in 1198, prior to the *reconquista* of Seville. Initially a minaret, the building would be converted as part of the Cathedral of Seville after the city was captured by Christian soldiers in 1248. Although the structure was damaged during a 1356 earthquake, by the beginning of the fifteenth century it was rebuilt as a bell tower alongside a cathedral which was one of the largest churches in the world at the time. Seemingly indestructible, in Alonso´s imagery we find ourselves witness to the culmination of the tower´s existence, and symbolically with it, the very city itself.

[161] Thought to start around the beginning of the fourth century when Constantine the Great became the first Roman emperor to convert to Christianity.

Pony Bravo represent a new hybrid brand of Spanish youth, combining some of the superficiality of the global indie posture with a politically compromised art engaging local, national, and global issues. Like many of their national artistic ancestors, such as the Generation of 98 and 27, they take an active approach to revitalizing Spanish art and identity.[162] Pony Bravo´s artistic rites of exit and (re)entry combine a highly intelligent, vanguard sonic experimentalism with an activist approach to mining the visual and lyrical semantic potential of flamenco and Andalusian patrimony for an ever more politically aware generation of Spanish youth.

This turn-of-the-century call for a more compromised artistic engagement is a sentiment shared by many musicians and fans across the Iberian and global indie scene. Over the course of the latter part of the noughties one can sense an aesthetic transition among indie bands internationally toward a more sincere and politically engaged musical production. I look at this relatively new phenomenon, as executed specifically by indie and indie electronic neoflamenco and neofado bands, throughout Chapter Five. In the following section I analyze authenticity as performed, granted, and denied to the indie neoflamenco band Los Planetas.

[162] Pony Bravo are heirs to both generations with respect to their political and aesthetic commitments: The philosophical underpinnings of the Generation of 1898 sought to influence the national political and academic spheres via cultural contributions that urgently sought to rescue Spain from its decadent stasis after the loss of its final remaining colonies to the U.S. The aesthetic style of the Generation of 1927 was a collective attempt to bridge the gap between Spanish popular culture and folklore with classic literary traditions as well as the avant-garde movement in vogue at the time across the continent. For Pony Bravo's generation, the social crisis is the loss of Spanish autonomy as membership in the European Union (as well as recent IMF economic intervention) increasingly limit sovereignty. Pony Bravo's aesthetic is similar to that of the Generation of 27 in that they combine Spanish popular culture and folklore with the vanguard of international indie.

"Sacralizing Desacralizations": Los Planetas, *La leyenda del espacio* (2007), and Authenticity[163]

Descriptions of indie and flamenco music both rely on the heavily burdened term authentic/*auténtico*. But both of these musics have different standards of authenticity. The majority of the neoflamenco (as well as neofado) bands involved in this study have had to struggle in some way or other with negotiating these often contradictory standards. In addition, authenticity in all three traditions is an elusive concept as it tends to shift from generation to generation based on the value systems of the musicians, critics, and fans that make up each scene. Authenticity in indie music has morphed over the decades as each age group has come to embrace its own version of aesthetic purity. Indie is historically characterized by a predominance of the guitar. It is often associated with the introspective, self-effacing, reflective nostalgic and melancholic nature of its members. It is frequently esoteric, self-referential, and lyrically obscure. Nevertheless, indie has always valued the "rites of exit" of its pioneers. Any rupture is welcomed and incorporated.

In order to get a vision of the overarching, and unchanging staples of indie authenticity, I decided to ask a writer who had spent most of his life observing the ebb and flow of the indie scene, Michael Azerrad. Azerrad is the author of the quintessential

[163] I investigate here the concept of authenticity as seen in the Spanish indie scene controversy surrounding the Los Planetas release of the indie neoflamenco album *La leyenda del espacio*. Although this album was eventually devoured by many of the most heterodox guardians of flamenco orthodoxy, it was not, in its essence, a radical attempt at subversion. I employ the title borrowed from Canclini because *La leyenda del espacio* was, from its inception to its reception, very much a "sacralizing desacralization": For many orthodox flamenco musicians, critics, and fans, *La leyenda del espacio* effectively normalized and sacralized the subversive desacralization of indie neoflamenco.

handbook for the early years of North American indie, *Our Band Could Be Your Life* (2001). Azerrad´s history of the late seventies to early eighties U.S. indie scene parallels the research on British indie conducted by Wendy Fonarow in *Empire of Dirt*. The reply I received related the essential core preoccupation of indie autonomy with authenticity:

> I think the heart and soul of indie is the idea that you make exactly the music you want to make, and then figure out how to run your career so you can do that without compromise. If you do that, you're authentic. Look at the Butthole Surfers in my book. They were determined to make some very weird music. Consequently, it had a limited appeal, so in order to keep doing exactly what they wanted to do, they toured with five people and a dog in a modified Chevy Nova, and gathered bottles and cans off the street so they could redeem them and buy food. That is authentic. I think authenticity can also stem from belonging to a regional artistic community. The social and aesthetic ramifications of that can help support and reinforce the determination to pursue a singular artistic vision at any cost. (Azerrad, "Re: Indie authenticity")

This drive to maintain a self-governing creative expression at any economic or symbolic capital cost, as exemplified by the Butthole Surfers, is equated here with indie authenticity. Azerrad adds that, despite the relative independence of indie musicians, a supportive local community is critical for an authentic indie band to sustain this resolve in the face of all other challenges.

Authenticity in flamenco is also a slippery subject, measured in the synchronic or in the diachronic. The Romantic roots of flamenco saw an even greater preoccupation with authorial authenticity than does indie today.[164] Authentic flamenco was periodically

[164] However, a fundamental difference between the manners in which these two movements regarded authenticity can be found in their evaluation of sincerity. Romanticism validated strong sincerely expressed emotion as an authentic source of aesthetic experience. In contrast, there is no limit to an indie musician´s irony. Sincerity in indie is normally considered as sappy and superficial. We also see a divergence in the judgment of romantic and indie authenticity with respect to the author´s life in relation to his creations. The critics of romantic artists tended to treat writers and their work as objects which should be evaluated with respect to their origins instead of on their merit. Indie fans and critics, on the contrary, will graciously accept the cognitive dissonance involved in a financially successful indie musician

thought to be produced exclusively by the gypsy.[165] From the middle of the nineteenth century up to the 1920s, authentic flamenco was most commonly performed *a palo seco* (a cappella), or with nothing more than a guitar accompaniment, within the intimate (and often raucous) setting of the *café cantante*. The introduction of orchestral instruments and the more sonorous, operatic vocal registers of *la ópera flamenca*, which occurred primarily during the interwar period, brought with it its own polemical interpretation of authenticity. António Mairena´s subsequent historiographical push for a re-evaluation of the guttural, rough, *cante jondo* returned authenticity to its early roots as it granted primacy to the *voz afillá* as well as gypsy timing, interpretation, and *duende*.[166] Authentic flamenco today is a fierce battleground between national and international traditionalists and modernists.[167] Nevertheless, one element of authentic flamenco which has never changed is the quest for pure expression of a range of emotions, both universally shared as well as intimately personal.

Many indie neoflamenco and neofado bands are reluctant to claim themselves as carrying forward urban folk traditions. The press labels them or ascribes influences to them that involve flamenco or fado, and the bands typically neither affirm nor deny these

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composing lyrics that satirize (from a working-class perspective) the trend of upper-class kids ´slumming it´ (see Pulp´s "Common People," for instance).

[165] This was a long-held belief despite the fact that several of the most famous singers from flamenco´s "golden age" onward were *payos*, or non-gypsies: Silverio Franconetti, António Chacon, Manuel Vallejo, José Menese, Carmen Linares, etc.

[166] The *voz afillá* is characterized by worn and hoarse bass tones, popularized by the mid-nineteenth-century flamenco singer El Fillo.

[167] The best example of this kind of contemporary in-fighting amongst *flamencólogos* (flamenco experts) can be seen in their verbal sparring over whether or not to award Camarón de la Isla the fourth Llave de Oro del Cante (the Golden Key of Flamenco). Camarón was finally granted this extremely rare recognition posthumously on December 5th, 2000. *Flamencólogo* traditionalists fought tooth and nail against this symbolic gesture due in part to its prestige (only five keys have been awarded since 1862), and in part because they believed Camarón was not an authentic flamenco, but rather an unorthodox renegade.

interpretations. But the result is often a stressful tightrope walk in which they must at some point either acknowledge to some extent these labels (thereby receiving the scorn and criticism of the flamenco or fado purists) or deny them completely and carry on producing their music in some obscure netherworld. In order to consider the issue of authenticity in Iberian indie urban neofolk, I look at the relatively recent metamorphosis of Los Planetas. This case study deals with Los Planetas´s struggle with authenticity as they attempted to transform their image. While many Spanish indie fans and critics have ridiculed Los Planetas for their 180º spin away from Anglophone indie power pop to indie neoflamenco, iconic members of the traditional flamenco scene (such as Enrique Morente) have encouraged, embraced, and even collaborated with the band.

Fig. 19. Los Planetas at the 2007 Sonorama Festival. Photograph by Antonio3000, 17 August 2007, from Wikimedia Commons, 10 June 2013.

Although Los Planetas has been quite prolific since its inception, the album I focus on here, *La leyenda del espacio*, represents a significant stylistic rupture.[168] This

[168] The title is a play on the groundbreaking flamenco "fusion" album *La leyenda del tiempo* (1979) by the late Camarón de la Isla.

album is a departure from Los Planeta´s prior output of Anglophone-oriented indie rock, toward an attempt at combining this sound with the flamenco musical tradition many of the members were surrounded by since childhood. *La leyenda del espacio* is the first product of the side projects of Los Planetas drummer Eric Jiménez (drummer for *Omega*, the 1996 collaboration between Enrique Morente and Largatija Nick), and singer J (whose other band, Grupo de Expertos Solynieve, has been actively producing a type of Spanish pop music grounded in Andalusian roots since 2006). The changing interests toward a more glocal sound amongst these two members coincided with those of the rest of the band. Several of the songs on *La leyenda del espacio* adapt flamenco *palos* to rock and roll rhythmic structures on tracks such as "Alegrías del incendio," "El canto del Bute," "Reunión en la cumbre," and "Ya no me asomo a la reja." The follow-up to this album, *Una ópera egipcia* (2010) continues in a similar vein with the participation again of Enrique Morente, along with that of Ana Fernández-Villaverde (aka La Bien Querida) and others.

Los Planetas has been the most successful band within the Spanish indie scene for nearly two decades. The fame they have enjoyed as national indie icons, combined with their recent unexpected embrace of indie neoflamenco, has resulted in a much closer scrutiny of the band´s musical production with regards to questions of indie and flamenco authenticity. In an interview for the website Muzikalia.com, Los Planetas keyboardist and guitarist Banin expresses a desire to explore the countercultural connections that link the marginalized nature of the misfit rebel rocker and flamenco:

> Es normal que cuando eres joven reniegues de lo tuyo, reniegues de lo que tienes más cerca, igual que reniegas de tus padres y de las cosas que te quieren imponer, que es la impresión que tienes con el flamenco cuando en todos los bares y en todas partes está sonando siempre el folclore de tu pueblo ¿no? Pero luego por otra parte el flamenco es una música de rebeldía, es una música muy racial, muy marginal y eso hace que nos identifiquemos con ella y que la nuestra se pueda seguir considerando una postura rebelde, esta vez por reivindicar lo nuestro. (Bonrostro)
>
> (It's normal when you are younger to renounce your origins, to reject whatever is closest to you, just as you reject your parents and refuse the things they impose on you, which is the impression you get with flamenco when in all the bars and everywhere you go you hear the folklore of your town, no? But then, in another way, flamenco is a music of rebellion, it is a very racial music, very marginal, and that makes us identify with it, so we can still be considered as rebellious while revindicating that which is ours.)

Banin expresses here how the kind of cultural artifacts and environment one is constantly surrounded by as an adolescent can be quite suffocating. Many young kids, when moving away from home, will search out anything but the kind of social signifiers that defined the monotony of their seemingly endless youth. And yet they can never really get away from the cultural background--the habitus--that has formed the very core of who they are. In the end, many of the musicians I interviewed for this project had long since come to terms with the roots of their identity which at one point sickened them. They then embrace and reclaim the aspects of their home culture which fit best with their perception of themselves: The radical, the outcast, the nonconformist, the wild one, the vagabond fadista, the gypsy rogue, the prodigal native son, etc. They then take this newfound identity and channel it via the sounds and styles they had studied and honed throughout their musical career. It is, in a sense, the merging of a musician´s two selves: That which is assumed passively and reluctantly as a child, and that which is often

foreign and acquired actively, even enthusiastically, as a young adult. This conscious alteration in such a musician´s disposition can be compared to the relatively unconscious apparition of necessary alteration as seen in the epiphany experienced by Paulo Pedro Gonçalves (as described in the previous chapter). Whereas Gonçalves´s habitus allowed him to see possibilities where his Portuguese indie peers could not, Los Planetas adapted their disposition to a change in the national collective habitus. Both are relatively natural responses to the accumulation and interpretation of lifelong environmental stimuli, but one response (that of Gonçalves) was generally perceived as visionary and authentic while the other (that of Los Planetas) was often considered opportunistic and superficial.

As seen above, Los Planetas don't have the luxury of avoiding questions of self-definition, and, consequently, authenticity. Los Planetas' foray into indie neoflamenco has come under intense scrutiny by indie and flamenco musicians, aficionados, and critics alike. The members of the group are often questioned with regards to the motives behind their new stylistic direction. In an appropriately entitled interview, "Nos gusta Bob Dylan, nos gusta Camarón y no nos ruborizamos" ("We like Bob Dylan, we like Camarón [de la Isla], and we are not ashamed of it"), the band fields a slightly sarcastic and insinuating question which is targeted at a quality of authenticity associated with indie dilettantism:

> **Juan de Bonrostro:** Resulta curioso ver como abanderados de lo que se denominó el indie de comienzos de los 90, como Sr. Chinarro o vosotros, que teníais influencias anglosajonas tan marcadas, miráis ahora a las raíces andaluzas *sin ningún tipo de rubor*.
>
> **Florent:** Ahora tenemos menos complejos que cuando estábamos empezando. Antes nos ceñíamos más a las influencias del rock, especialmente anglosajón…Ha

> pasado el tiempo y hemos ampliado conocimientos y gustos musicales sin ningún tipo de rubor, y el flamenco nos gusta, como nos puede gustar el jazz y como infinidad de músicas que están por conocer y que todavía no conocemos. Con 18 años no te interesa mucho el flamenco ni el jazz, te interesa [sic] los grupos a los que te gustaría sonar como ellos…Esa etapa, por decirlo así, la hemos vivido ya. Ahora nos apetecía hacer cosas nuevas, no sonar siempre a lo mismo. No usar siempre las mismas influencias de la psicodelia del pop inglés o el rock americano. (Bonrostro, italics mine)
>
> **Juan de Bonrostro:** (I find it curious to see how, standard-bearers of the early nineties indie scene, such as Sr. Chinarro or your group, with such marked Anglo-Saxon influences, are delving into Andalusian roots *without blushing*.
>
> **Florent:** We don´t have as much of a complex as we did when we started. In the past, we limited ourselves more to rock influences, especially Anglo-Saxon influences...Time has passed, and we have expanded our musical knowledge and tastes without feeling any shame about it. We like flamenco, just as we may take a liking to jazz music or myriad other genres out there that we still haven´t really experienced. At the age of eighteen, you´re not interested in flamenco or jazz, you are interested in the groups that you would like to sound like. We experienced that stage of life. Now we want to do new things, to not always sound the same. We don´t want to keep drawing on the same influences of English psychedelic pop and U.S. rock.)

The interviewer here insinuates a sort of opportunism on the part of Los Planetas, indicating that the band was possibly just hopping on the bandwagon of a style that was hot at the moment. The bandwagon jumper is perhaps the oldest trope in the history of indie skepticism--the very antithesis of the authentic. Florent is already quite comfortable responding to this kind of attack: That the band should somehow be a bit ashamed of the transition from a distinctly Anglophone indie rock sound to a more homegrown one. His answer deflects the insinuation of an exploitation of the local while echoing a common response amongst indie urban neofolk bands: A desire to try something new by incorporating a greater variety of musical influences combined with a rationalization of why the group had not been originally interested in traditional folk

sounds. Florent mentions the distaste a young Andalusian such as himself typically had for flamenco music during the heyday of the eighties *movida madrileña* and the subsequent decade during the peak of Anglophone cultural hegemony throughout the Iberian Peninsula.

Sonic authenticity can be a tricky issue in indie rock. Many bands feel a simultaneous pressure to remain true to the style for which they are known while they are also often expected to evolve with each album release. There is a limited acceptable parameter of evolution that typically excludes the wholesale adoption of a distinct practice which would be perceived by the band´s core audience as completely antithetical to the group´s fundamental ethos. A band so completely aligned with an Anglophone indie rock sound such as Los Planetas was bound to receive the kind of cynicism that they encountered when they turned to national urban folk influences. Still, time has evidenced that the evolution seems to be generally accepted and embraced by the indie audience. Their groundbreaking release *La leyenda del espacio* was deemed the best nationally produced album of the decade by Spain´s most widely read indie music magazine, *Rockdelux*.[169]

The members of Los Planetas had to endure a much closer examination with respect to the authenticity of their new musical direction than any of the other bands in this study. Nevertheless, they also enjoyed a certain immunity to the kind of criticism that is common for bands within this new movement due to their important prior

[169] For more info see *Rockdelux* 278 "Especial 25 aniversario 2000-2009 resumen de la década: mejores discos, canciones, películas, libros, cómics, conciertos" (November 2009).

contributions to the national indie scene. Los Planetas also benefited from the many connections they had accrued within the indie and flamenco scenes over the course of their career. Los Planetas drummer, Eric Jiménez, provided a fundamental proto-neoflamenco authenticity to the group as the percussionist for the groundbreaking Morente-Largatija Nick collaboration, *Omega*. Jiménez´s ability to adapt flamenco *palo* rhythms to a rock format, along with the relationship he and his Los Planetas bandmates subsequently developed with flamenco icon Enrique Morente, was the initial impetus that would lay the groundwork for *La leyenda del espacio*. Los Planetas vocalist, J, spent much of the beginning of the millennium apprenticing flamenco under the tutelage of Morente, probing the psychological and historical underpinnings of the practice. Interestingly enough, one of the crucial components of flamenco distinctiveness, the very *palo* rhythms that Jiménez learned to adapt to a rock style for the *Omega* album were largely abandoned for a more traditional rock rhythm of 4:4 due to the complication involved in maintaining the overall vibe of a Los Planetas neoflamenco composition: "al estar tan pendiente del compás, pierdes contenido en el resto de las cosas" (Bonrostro) (When you are so aware of the beat, you sacrifice content with respect to the rest [of the music]). This inability to incorporate such a fundamental element of flamenco into the final neoflamenco product would typically be considered as an insurmountable flaw due to its pronounced lack of traditional authenticity. Nevertheless, the contribution of Enrique Morente, both as a sort of flamenco spiritual guide as well as participatory vocalist for the final track of the album ("Tendrá que haber un camino"), lent a good deal

of credibility to the band from the perspective of flamenco traditionalists and indie critics alike.

That said, important connections within the flamenco and indie scene wouldn´t have sufficed to propel this album to the national number one of the new millennium. The stylistic evolution of Los Planetas toward a neoflamenco creation, while not always evident musically, is most certainly foreseeable lyrically. Much of the sentiment so integral to the poetics of flamenco--the very spirit of *duende* itself--has been evident in J´s lyrical compositions since the genesis of the band, rightly providing the band with a de facto indie neoflamenco authenticity: declarations of love and pain, rejection, punishment, spite, humiliation, betrayal, profanity, and malicious wit. Above all, one can by no means ignore the stalwart spirit of independence required to embark on such a daring sonic venture: "A priori, ´La leyenda del espacio´…era un todo o nada. Una jugada ambiciosa y pretenciosa que podía haberlos convertido en una caricatura definitiva de lo que fueron. Arriesgaron y ganaron: aquí están. Se acabaron los segundos premios. Primer premio" (Carrillo 93) (A priori, *La leyenda del espacio*…was an all or nothing. An ambitious and pretentious play that could have turned them into a caricature of what they were. They risked it and succeeded: here they are. No more second prizes. First prize). The hybrid creation of Los Planetas was by no means original. It certainly could not be considered within the vein of what Canclini refers to as a "rite of exit." But without a doubt, it was daring. Los Planetas essentially put all of their symbolic capital on the line when they released *La leyenda del espacio*. Amongst the few concepts of

authenticity that indie and flamenco share in common, that of all-in bravado, which Los Planetas exhibit in spades, must be the most cherished.

Novembro´s Aggressive DIY

The concept of Do-It-Yourself (DIY) has been a central tenet of indie music production since the scene began. A close French equivalent to DIY, *bricolage*, has been adopted by cultural studies academics to define the processes by which people acquire objects from across social divisions to create new cultural identities.[170] It is also a core component of subcultural studies which focus on the purposes of resignification of an object by a subcultural actor. The classic example given by Dick Hebdige (1979) is the safety pin, repurposed by British punk rockers as a decorative accessory. The concept of DIY/*bricolage* has thus taken on a rich semiotic as the natural Other to the homogenizing tendencies of globalization. Whereas encroaching American cultural imperialism has tended toward normalizing and fixing otherwise diverse international identities via the incessant imposition of an omnipresent imaginary of the "proper" modern global citizen, the practice of *bricolage* draws across any and all cultures to allow for individual agency in the creation and evolution of a concept of the self.[171] The politically charged dichotomies related to globalization and *bricolage* are various: Macroculture vs.

[170] *Bricolage* is a weighty term that is used in a variety of disciplines. I employ it in this study as a synonym for DIY production, specifically, the musician´s ability to resourcefully use whatever materials are available, regardless of their original purpose.

[171] The hegemonic imposition of a U.S. cultural agenda towards the normalization of the global citizen is less noticeable in European countries than it is in a country such as Iraq or Afghanistan. This is not to say that it does not exist, it is just far more subtle and more often driven by U.S.-based corporate interests in fostering international conspicuous consumption (rather than the U.S. governmental macro-preoccupation with encouraging stable democratic governments). The "proper" modern international citizen then could be seen as one who is constantly "upgrading" themselves with the newest technological, sartorial, musical, etc. product—one who mindlessly conforms to the ideal established by every new advertisement, feeding constantly the insatiable globalized capitalist machinery.

microculture, consumers vs. producers, Hollywood and the Big Four music industry multinationals vs. Youtube and social networks, etc.

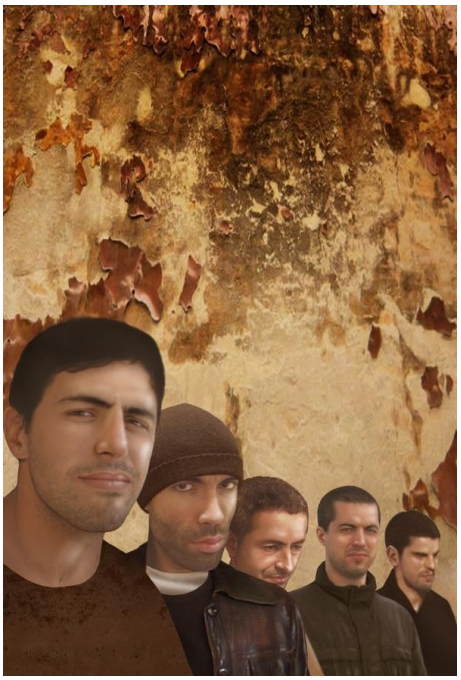

Fig. 20. Novembro from left to right: Hugo Leitão, Miguel Filipe, Rui Alves, João Portela, Diogo Dias. Photo and design by Miguel Filipe, 2009. JPEG.

Although all of the groups involved in this research have practiced DIY methods over the course of their career to some extent or other, the band that seems to embody this practice most wholeheartedly is Novembro. In true DIY fashion, Miguel Filipe has spent the better part of the last decade designing two prototype models of an electric Portuguese guitar. In the composition of Novembro´s music, Filipe incorporates both models to create a soundscape that is grounded in a Portuguese blend of indie lo-fi pop, shoegaze, and fado.[172] Unfortunately, the future of the band is currently up in the air due

[172] Lo-fi is short for low fidelity which references the degraded quality of a sound recording. The sound can be achieved via a variety of production methods, including recording directly onto a tape cassette recorder. Lo-fi has been a popular alternative aesthetic for indie bands for decades. Beat Happening produced some of the first indie lo-fi recordings during the early eighties, but the lo-fi indie movement was

in part to Filipe´s need to control so many aspects of Novembro´s creative production, from instrument design to soundscape to the music industry itself. Filipe is reluctant to conform to the standard format of the present-day music industry. Filipe specifically struggles with the idea that an album should be valued primarily on a sonic level. In the interview I conducted with him, he repeatedly stated a desire to work on a more visual and literary scale. Although he is still interested in creating music, he wants to release songs individually, accompanied by a conceptually appropriate album art, the design of which he considers to be of equal importance to the music. He also would like to introduce extra-musical prose that would function as a sort of short story to underscore or give background to the more condensed metaphoric language of each song's lyrics. Moreover, Filipe expressed a desire to do a track-release show instead of the traditional CD release in order to concentrate each effort as a multifaceted production which incorporates all aspects of his creative potential as musical composer, visual artist, lyricist, essayist, and novelist. As nothing as yet has been produced to this end by the band (to the date of this publication), I will analyze Novembro´s intense DIY methods during the period surrounding the release of the album the group had produced prior to my interview, the band´s indie neofado debut *À deriva* (2008).

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not consolidated until the early nineties with bands like Smog, Low, Will Oldham, Sebadoh, Yo La Tengo, and Pavement.

Shoegaze is a subgenre of indie that emerged out of the U.K. during the late eighties. The term was coined in reference to the tendency of performers to hang their heads in motionless introspection. The bands performing this music often included at least one guitarist who had an array of pedals which he or she would constantly have to tap with the foot to create the wall-of-sound quality which typified the shoegazer sonic style. Thus, the gaze was very literally, and necessarily, fixed on the shoe. Stylistically, shoegazing consisted of a combination of distorted, droning guitars which lent an amorphous quality to the sound. Slowdive, Ride, My Bloody Valentine, and the Jesus and Mary Chain are the bands most often associated with the early British shoegaze movement.

Miguel Filipe took his love for indie and fado music, along with an obsessive propensity toward DIY production to such an extent that he felt the need to design his own electric Portuguese guitar, twice. When Filipe started the group he knew he wanted to create music that would draw from both his fado and indie influences. After a short period experimenting with the traditional Portuguese guitar, the logistical problems with playing the instrument in a live setting led him to the conclusion that he would need to create a prototype based on the solid-body electric guitar:

> It all started with a very complicated setup that we had--a traditional Portuguese guitar with a pickup inside. Of course it was just this pickup on a full hollow body, and it was very complicated to control the feedback. It was very nasty, especially when you have an electric guitar, an electric bass, and drums. Everybody has to play really low and the sound became very ugly and distorted. We had a lot of troubles with that. At the same time I was thinking we needed a solid body to avoid this feedback, completely compatible with the rest of the setup. And then I thought about Elvis Presley, how he didn't create the formula, he gave the concept, the way of life, the style. So I started to think about changing the concept of the guitar itself, and I mixed them both. I needed a solid body, but I started from the idea that people have of the Portuguese guitar. The first thing that I really wanted was to give to the idea of accessibility. Like Radiohead says, "Everybody can play guitar"--well everybody can play Portuguese guitar. If you plug this into an amplifier you start to make noise, you are already doing something. There were no such rules when the man first started making music. But it was music. (Filipe)

Filipe now performs live with Novembro, playing one of the two prototypes for the electric Portuguese guitar, constructed by João Pessoa, which he has designed: the P1 and the P2 (pictured respectively below).

Fig. 21. "Comparativo: Guitarra Portuguesa Tradicional, NOVEMBRO P1 e NOVEMBRO P2" (Comparative Image of the Traditional Portuguese Guitar, the Novembro P1, and the Novembro P2.) Photograph by Miguel Filipe, 22 February 2010, from Novembroexercitofantasma.blogspot.com, 22 April 2012.

Oddly enough, as a DIY aficionado, Filipe never actually taught himself music theory, or even how to play the Portuguese guitar. He had purchased the one readily available guidebook on how to play the Portuguese guitar, *Fado. Guitarra Mágica: Método Com Músicas. Acordes Perfeitos e Dissonantes* (1976) by Eurico Cebolo, but, after learning how to tune the strings, he gave the book away. Filipe expresses in the above quote his desire to create a less-intimidating version of the instrument. He created the P1 and the P2 so that it could be effectively played by any novice. Filipe also wanted to create a Portuguese guitar that he could play standing up during live performances. More importantly, he wanted to design an instrument that broke from the traditional notion that only professionals could use it.

Ever since a recent fallout with Novembro's music industry collaborator, the local indie label Lisboa Records, Filipe now approaches every aspect of artistic creation from a DIY perspective. In addition to writing all of the lyrics and most of the music for the album *À deriva*, he has designed all of the album and video artwork to date. The

ominous imagery used by Filipe for both matches the stark descriptions of urban isolation found in his lyrics. *À deriva* begins with lyrics that rival the uber-depressing Manchester post punk band Joy Division in hopeless desperation and purposelessness:

Devastei horas a fio	I laid waste to hours on end
de lento caminhar.	of slow trudge.
Horas a fio de avanço	Hours on end as
das trevas sobre a terra.	the darkness covered the earth.
Tenho presente o fim	I keep in mind the end
que é a esperança insondável.	that is an unfathomable hope.

("Jornada dos passos cegos")

Filipe is authentic in these lyrical descriptions. Shortly after I met him he apologized for not responding to me for months due to the fact that he had been paralyzed by an inner gloom. His hopelessness seems to increase song by song throughout *À deriva*. By track four Filipe is begging to be delivered from the shadowlands he inhabits:

Leva-me daqui.	Take me away from here.
Afasta-me desta gente surda	Get me away from these deaf people
que nada tem para dar...	who have nothing to offer…
Esconde-me desta levez	Hide me from this lightness
que nada significa...	that means nothing...
Afasta-me da terra	Remove me from this land
e do espectro da fome.	and this specter of hunger.

("Leva-me daqui")

The savior he petitions remains nameless, but the place he desperately desires to escape is either an interior or exterior wasteland. Or perhaps both. The song ends with the verse "leva-me contigo e serei alguém" (bring me with you and I will be somebody). The song´s protagonist needs either the savior or an exodus to achieve self-actualization. Given Filipe´s fierce independence, I prefer the latter interpretation: he needs to escape Lisbon to realize his artistic potential. Given Filipe´s self-professed manic-

depressiveness, he must also escape the inner wasteland. Based on the lyrics and images Filipe composed for *À deriva*, the borders in which the self is defined, against that which lies outside the self, is dark and blurred. Filipe here comments on the dystopian Lisbon he portrays in the *À deriva* CD image inserts:

> **Miguel Filipe (MF):** I took some pictures and worked with them. But some people in the press said ´this is a fictional Lisbon.´ I don´t agree. This is real. These buildings exist, but they don't know these places.
>
> **MA:** It's out in these forgotten zones.
>
> **MF:** I think that is where the real fado is nowadays. It's not in Alfama. Alfama is filled with tourists, because they push the fado on the tourists. So I think it's in a different place, completely forgotten--nobody wants to know about it, about the harsh reality.
>
> **MA:** So this is an environmental recreation of the idea of fado?
>
> **MF:** Expressionist. I think I exaggerate what already exists. Because if I just took the pictures, I would put my subjectivity aside, or at least the most important part of it, so I just followed my instinct.
>
> **MA:** But there are a lot of parts of Lisbon that are literally like this.
>
> **MF:** Oh yeah, definitely…All of this is real, I just reorganized the houses, the spaces. This is a picture of Lisbon really. It was Lisbon that made this, not me. I just advised Lisbon [on how] to reorganize the elements. (Filipe)

Filipe is a neofadista who revels in fado's gloomiest, most brooding, melancholic roots. Likewise, his album and poster artwork pictorially represent the ugliest dregs of Lisbon proper not in disdain of the capital city, but rather as catharsis. It is his spiritual scourge and his creative muse. Although Filipe realizes he will never "become somebody" if he continues to live in Lisbon and play neofado, he would never actually leave Lisbon just as he would never conceive of leaving fado. This inner battle to escape and to remain allows Filipe to craft song and image which critique and celebrate the misery and beauty of fado and the city from which it sprang.

The following two images are examples of how Filipe "reorganizes the elements" of his hometown, giving urban architectural decay a makeover toward all-encompassing decay:

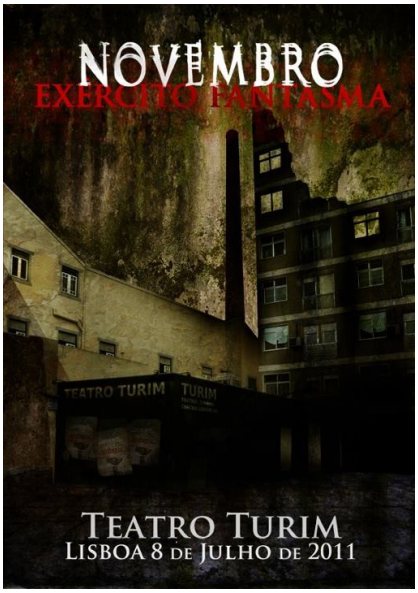

Figure 22. Promotional poster for a Novembro July 2011 concert (left) and album cover for Novembro´s *À deriva* (right). Photographs and design by Miguel Filipe 2009. JPEGs.

The Lisbon-area architectural structures that Filipe photographs are digitally manipulated according to his own perspective of, and aesthetic desire for, the Portuguese capital. Nevertheless, this is not some simulacrum city dreamt up by Filipe; the images depict a portion of Lisbon that still exists. The buildings above are just a couple representations of the scattered decrepit ruins that still dot much of the city to this day--decades after the fall of a regime that isolated the nation as a backwater throwback.[173] Filipe underscores

[173] The Salazar dictatorship refused for decades after the end of the colonial era (historically marked by the time period spanning the end of World War I to the end of World War II, and with it the end of an antiquated and racist colonial agenda) to relinquish Portugal´s extensive colonial Empire. In order to support his colonial policies, Salazar adopted the concept of *lusotropicalism* developed by the Brazilian historian and anthropologist Gilberto Freyre. Lusotropicalism, for Salazar, was integral to Portuguese exceptionalism, marked by its centuries-old history of cultural plasticity as a multiracial and pluricontinental nation. According to Salazar, the loss of its overseas provinces meant the dismemberment of the nation itself. Portugal became increasingly isolated on the world stage as other European nations

this urban decay by superimposing it over a background that doubles the image´s already limited earth-tone pallet: red clay, rust copper, dirty cream, water-stained beige, etc.[174] The building used for the *À deriva* album cover looks as if it had been put together by an impoverished *bricoleur* or a series of owners with short attention spans, all of them having abandoned the place long ago: the plaster crumbling, the interiors exposed, the makeshift supports buckling, etc. Nor are these festering structures deep within the ghettos or far beyond the city outskirts. Although such crumbling architecture is not often seen by the casual tourist, it is by no means off the beaten path.

During my 2010-2011 stay in Lisbon I lived for the most part in the Mártires da Patria neighborhood adjacent to the Avenida metro stop. Avenida da Liberdade is Lisbon´s main drag--what Broadway is to Manhattan, or the Gran Vía to Madrid. Every Saturday morning I would cross Avenida da Liberdade, beginning a brief, but arduous uphill trek to the Praça do Principe Real Farmer´s Market. Just before the gradual uphill climb of Rua da Alegria turned into what seemed to be a ninety-degree-angle ascent to the market off of Rua Dom Pedro V, I was greeted by a structure, almost cartoonish in its decay. It seemed to come straight out of Filipe´s photoshopped Lisbon:

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with African colonies gradually granted them independence. Subsequent colonial wars in Africa were extremely costly for the nation, with respect to both economic and human capital. By the 1974 revolution, Portugal was an economic basket case.

[174] Lisbon is, in reality, mostly not so drab. The buildings within the city center are pastel-colored or off-white. That said, almost all the pastel-colored buildings are faded, dirty, and smoke-stained. However, when the mid-day sun hits Lisbon´s white *calçada* sidewalk, the cityscape becomes as blindingly white as a sunny, snow-covered Minneapolis.

Figure 23. Author´s Google Maps screenshot of 38-44 Rua da Alegria, Lisbon, Portugal. Web. 09 December 2011.

I share this anecdote not to complain of Lisbon´s ridiculously steep hills. Rather I wish to emphasize how buildings such as the one above (seemingly only sustained by its own volition) are not out in the city periphery but less than a one-minute walk from the capital´s asphalt jugular. Having lived in the Mouraria subdistrict known as Martim Moniz, I had the opportunity to experience first hand much of the (even more decrepit) infrastructure of the city's forgotten boroughs.[175] If these are the urban areas that Filipe references in his photographic manipulations, then he is optimistic and generous in his depiction. As a metaphorical, expressionist landscape of fado, it is an interesting study in the forgotten dregs of the genre's roots within the seedy underbelly of Alfama and

[175] This is the neighborhood which Michael Colvin, in his book *The Reconstruction of Lisbon: Severa's Legacy and the Fado's Rewriting of Urban History* (2008), refers to as "the back of Lisbon's Christmas tree—that mangy area turned to the wall, decorated with broken and unsightly ornaments that nevertheless had sentimental value" (11).

Mouraria. Filipe underscores in his photographic manipulations the doubly marginalized state of the present-day fadista culture: The forgotten vagabond face of a now sanitized routine performed nightly for the few international tourists willing to experience life on Europe's periphery.

Filipe has received enormous praise for his various contributions to the indie neofado scene--from his Novembro compositions to his Portuguese electric guitar prototypes. Yet the singer-songwriter is a notoriously sluggish creator. After over a decade as a group, Novembro has only released one album, and the Portuguese electric guitar prototypes remain just that--prototypes. Perhaps no one has commissioned the mass production of the P1 and the P2 due to their costliness. Filipe´s wires seem to cross when he discusses his DIY creations: While he theorizes on the potential for any musician to play his electric Portuguese guitar--with production prices reaching almost 2000 Euros for either guitar--he neglects to consider the possibility of any average Portuguese citizen to actually afford one:

> **MF:** This is a Portuguese guitar, so let's break the ice and make something for the people. So this is the concept, something minimal and for the people. Like a Volkswagen...For the P3, which I am planning now, I am thinking about something made from carbon fiber.
>
> **MA:** What is the P2 made from?
>
> **MF:** Wood. I think it's maple. The thing is, with carbon fiber, it would make it lighter while giving it the texture of something quite new and allowing for shapes which in wood would be less affordable. I'm thinking of some alien shapes, with eccentric rings.
>
> **MA:** Wait wait wait. Are you thinking of making it more eccentric or more accessible? Because the crazier it gets, the more expensive.

MF: I was referring to eccentric in the more overall geometric sense. I'm thinking more about shapes, because this P2 is not symmetric. The exterior is symmetric, but inside it isn't. So I want to work this out: lighter, thinner, but at the same time more solid, resistant. And carbon fiber is very solid, rigid.

MA: So you can bring the price down with this?

MF: No, not at all. If I made the body entirely out of carbon fiber it would be like the Ferrari of the Portuguese guitars.

MA: But if you are going to make the Volkswagen of Portuguese guitars you have to go cheaper.

MF: I must develop this (Filipe points to the P2).

MA: And have the Ferrari for yourself.

MF: As a show model; something that could be like a concept car. You don't sell the concept car. You have them to show off to everybody. But you don't sell them; you only build one.

MA: So you could make this one (the P2) less expensive then?

MF: Definitely.

MA: Could you get it down to 1000?

MF: After I realized that João [Pessoa] was pissed off about the price [due to the fact that the final product ended up being much more expensive than we had originally planned], I realized that this would be much more expensive. I don't know how much more. But if perhaps there were a lot more people asking for this kind of guitar, he could make them at a better price. (Filipe)

After Filipe considered lowering the price of the P2, he decided he would need to work on some kind of promotional effort to increase demand for this model. This would be in addition to Filipe's plans to reconsider the very nature of a CD release. For the next project, Filipe is planning on releasing one song at a time, each accompanied by a fully illustrated book, for which he would do all of the writing and design, as part of an entire multimedia event.

One of the downsides of DIY is its addictiveness. When an indie musician realizes he can effectively produce a work of art on his own, he often tends to confuse effectiveness with efficiency. He sees no need for an external support structure and so loses sight of the potential added value of contributions by other knowledgeable members of the music industry, even that of those within the indie community. A fundamental tenet of basic economics is the concept of opportunity costs: the cost of any activity measured in terms of the value of the best alternative that is not chosen. That is, for example, if I decide to spend hours interviewing musicians, transcribing the recordings of those interviews, taking notes on those transcriptions, interpreting those notes, and then writing a book based on said analysis, I have forgone any alternative way of spending my time as I pursue this goal. The purpose of this economic notion, which encourages us to consider the opportunity cost of any given pursuit, is to help us realize what our strengths are, and what our time is worth. Opportunity costs help us better conceptualize which activities are worth our time, and which activities we would be better off entrusting in someone else to perform on our behalf. DIY (with the isolationist tendencies that it can potentially foster) then should not necessarily always be perceived as positive within the indie scene, nor globalization (with the increased international connectivity that it can potentially provide) as negative. Miguel Filipe, although a brilliant musician, lyricist, graphic artist, and industrial designer, could benefit from a better balance of DIY with the greater collaboration of the local and/or international indie community.

The indie Iberian urban neofolk bands investigated in this chapter are well aware of their place and time as hybrid *bricoleurs*, picking through the remains of a

homogenized international indie culture and a local folk culture that has been forgotten or ignored by many of their generic peers. In each creation they simultaneously practice the "rites of exit" and rites of (re)entry by piecing together these hybrid expressions which join an indie sensibility to a deeply ingrained familiarity with established national traditional culture. They struggle for authentic production as hybrid practitioners of traditions with disparate values of authenticity. They practice DIY out of choice or necessity. They produce a niche art form as glocal urban neofolk musicians within the overly populated field of global indie rock. They paint pictures detailing the trials and tribulations involved in twenty-first-century Iberian cultural production via sound, image, and performance. They pay tribute to flamenco and fado icons while carrying forward the torch of such traditional expressions for a new generation of Spanish and Portuguese youth. As Spain and Portugal are engulfed by threats to national sovereignty (via encroaching Anglophone cultural hegemony and European Union demands for fiscal austerity) these bands may represent the last hope for maintaining a strong, historically informed, national identity going into the following decades of the twenty-first century.

In the next chapter I investigate hybridity in a parallel Iberian urban neofolk scene: electronica. Electronic music production is considered by some music critics as just another subgenre of indie. Alternatively, it is considered by others as completely separate from indie. According to many electronic fans, it is the very antithesis of indie. Nevertheless, several of the bands that pioneered electronic neofado and neoflamenco are also often considered indie by many Iberian critics and fans. As such, I will refer to these bands as indie electronic neoflamenco and neofado groups. The groups I focus on in the

following chapter face many of the same issues as the bands highlighted here. That said, I have no plans to repeat issues of authenticity or DIY production hassles. Chapter Four represents a more intimate look into the life and worldview of the musicians themselves through the overarching trope of absence. Indie electronic neofado and neoflamenco are two scenes with very few members. I hope to show the lonely struggle of such practice while investigating why hybrid scenes with such creative potential remain relatively fallow in Portugal and Spain.

Chapter Four
Indie Electronic Neofado and Neoflamenco: Absence

Table 4
A Naifa, M-Pex, and El Ultimo Grito: Members, Dates, Places, Albums, Sub-Genres, and Influences

Band Name (Location, Year Formed)	Members (Instruments)	Albums (Label, Year Published)	Sub-Genres	Primary Influences
A Naifa (Lisbon, 2003)	Luís Varatojo (Portuguese guitar), María Antónia Mendes (aka Mitó, vocals), Sandra Baptista (bass), and Samuel Palitos (drums)	*Canções Subterrrâneas* (Sony Music Entertainment, Portugal, Lda. 2004), *3 Minutos Antes da Maré Encher* (Zona Music, 2006), *Uma Inocente Inclinação para o Mal* (Universal Portugal, 2008), *Não se deitam comigo corações obedientes* (Antena Portuguesa, 2012)	Fado, trip-hop, experimental electronic, post punk, downtempo, dark wave, lo-fi	Linha da Frente, Portishead, Lucília do Carmo, Banda do Casaco, The Pogues, Fausto, Joy Division, José Afonso, Massive Attack, Camané
M-Pex (Lisbon, 1999)	Marco Miranda (Portuguese guitar, FruityLoops preprogrammed beats)	*Phado* (Whitezone, 2007), *Viver e sentir Portugal* (Viver e sentir Portugal, 2009), *iPhado* (Enough Records, 2011), *Ignis* (Enough Records, 2012)	Fado vadio, Drum & Bass, Fado de Coimbra, Dubstep	Goldie, Carlos Paredes, Pendulum, Alcino Frazão, El-B, Armadinho, Zed Bias
El Ultimo Grito (Paris, late 90s)	Julian Demoraga (vocals), Diego "el Kinki" (programming, vocals), Stéphan Péron (flamenco guitar), and Xavier Sibre (saxophone, clarinet, flute)	*Una hora* (X-cRoCs Records, 2009)	Flamenco, Krautrock, Blues, Jazz, Punk	Bambino, Paganini, Las Grecas, Los Chichos, Tom Waits, Triana, Enrique Morente, David Bowie, Pepe Marchena, Miles Davis, Marvin Gaye, Lole y Manuel, Manolo Caracol

A recurring theme in this chapter is absence: absence of hope, absence of a sense of national identity amongst Iberian youth, absence expressed through heteronymic discursive transcoding, absence of Portuguese guitar method books for aspiring indie-fado hybrid musicians, and an absence of the cathartic flamenco expression of *penas* and *duende*. I begin this chapter, however, not with absence of some desired entity, but the presence of an unwanted one for Portuguese indie musicians: The rock tour circuit in Lisbon. I consider below the economic effect of international rock tours on Lisbon bands, specifically the neofado band A Naifa. A Naifa has enjoyed consistent local support from fans, press, and radio, but is, as of yet, unable to find a market outside of Portugal. This case study highlights the difficulty involved in earning a comfortable living as a present-day Portuguese indie electronic neofado band.

Iberian bands are directly affected by the worldwide plummet in record sales which began in June 1999 with the online peer-to-peer (P2P) file sharing network Napster. Napster and similar P2P sites provided free downloads of entire albums from a wide variety of music genres, decimating demand for recorded music sold in the formal economy. These groups are first affected by the financial losses related to their own drop in album sales, but also suffer the effects of an international music industry which has, under similar pressures, become increasingly reliant on the live show. The modest record sales of many independent and major label bands are not sufficient to cover the respective label expenditures on the production and promotion of the physical musical product. These bands recoup the difference via ticket and concert merchandise sales. Marginal revenues are then a function of performance frequency. This simple equation means

more bands doing more tours with more stops. Thousands of musical groups crisscross the globe every year; the Western European capitals are necessary stopovers. One would think that A Naifa, as a band practicing the uncommon hybrid style combination of fado and trip-hop, would not be in direct competition with most of the touring groups that stop in Lisbon. We will see below that A Naifa is by no means immune to the economic effects of this phenomenon.

I next analyze the discursive transcoding of A Naifa co-founder and lyricist, the late João Aguardela. Discursive transcoding is a concept developed by the film critics Douglas Kellner and Michael Ryan to refer to the indirect expression of alienations too threatening to express directly (1-17).[176] I consider the concept of discursive transcoding with respect to a few of the lyrics that Aguardela would write for A Naifa's third album, *Uma Inocente Inclinação Para o Mal* (2008), under his heteronym, Maria Rodrigues Teixeira. Through the Catalan poet Teixeira, Aguardela was able to express indirectly a painful anxiety related to his own future absence.

The following case study looks at the musical influences on Marco Miranda, aka M-Pex. Miranda´s musical relationship with his grandfather--in the absence of a father figure--mirrors the way in which different Portuguese generations have embraced or

[176] These alienations are experienced by the individual through distorted, neurotic, or irremediable representations of her surroundings and circumstances. Healthy representation of the external world is considered a necessary tool for psychological maturation (i.e. a child in the early stages of development learning to deal with separation from her parents by representing them to herself in their absence, when successful, can learn to accept the sense of loss that separation entails and will continue to elaborate non-neurotic representations of the world). Representations are also internalized from an individual's culture, molding the self according to the values inherent in those cultural representations. "Cultural representations not only give shape to psychological dispositions, they also play an important role in determining how social reality will be constructed, that is, what figures and boundaries will prevail in the shaping of social life and social institutions. They determine whether capitalism will be conceived (felt, experienced, lived) as a predatory jungle or as a utopia of freedom" (Kellner and Ryan 13).

rejected fado. M-Pex is emblematic of a generation of Portuguese youth who, after growing up as citizens of the European Union, now desire a sense of national belonging. The evolution of Marco Miranda to M-Pex allows us to explore the ways in which the dominant mode of Lisbon fado performance shifted from participation (i.e. *fado vadio*) to presentation (i.e. official performances restricted to officially licensed fadistas called *carteiras profissionais*) in the Salazar era.[177] I postulate in this section the present-day ramifications of the Estado Novo´s attempt to regulate fado performances through limiting the issuance of *carteiras profissionais*. I investigate how limiting the number of licenses granted to fado performers might have resulted in what M-Pex describes as an insular collective of fado professionals. The effects of this phenomenon are considered with respect to the restricted dissemination of practical knowledge of Portuguese guitar technique which, in turn, has limited present-day neofado artistry and innovation.

The final section of this chapter deals with the Parisian-based, expat, indie electronic neoflamenco group, El Ultimo Grito. The lead singer for El Ultimo Grito, Julián Demoraga, explains why the present-day Spaniard no longer hears *duende*. *Duende* is absent not only from indie or even Spanish indie music creation, but also from contemporary flamenco lyricism as well. Demoraga believes his group to be the proper antidote to this twenty-first-century indie, Spanish, and flamenco malaise.

[177] The *fado vadio* allows for novice, amateur, and even professional fadistas to take their turn at performing whichever traditional fado song they choose. Audience participation (singing along or tapping a rhythm) is common and often encouraged.

A Naifa and Cultural Capital Opportunity Costs

Fig. 24. A Naifa, from left to right: Luís Varatojo, Sandra Baptista, María Antónia Mendes (Mitó). Photographs by Catarina Limão, 31 August 2012, from Flickr Creative Commons, 10 June 2013.

Sara Simões is the booking agent for the Lisbon-based concert promoter, Produtores Associados, which represents A Naifa, Dead Combo, and several other Portuguese bands. I spoke with Simões exactly two years after the death of the A Naifa co-founder, João Aguardela. The death of Aguardela had left the band without a lyricist, composer, and performer. A Naifa was considering calling it quits. The money had never been great to begin with, scarcely providing the band members with a steady, livable income. And now the heyday of easy credit were over. Portugal was mired in a European-wide recession. To make matters worse, international touring acts had begun to make Lisbon part of their regular European itinerary. Portuguese conspicuous cultural consumption used to mean seeing Lou Reed play a stadium show one night, followed by A Naifa the next night, then Franz Ferdinand the next, etc. As the economy contracted, Lisbon indie music fans could no longer afford to attend every concert.

Simões addressed her uncertainty about the future of the local music scene:

> **Sara Simões (SS):** There is something strange going on at this moment because we don´t have money, but the concerts are full. So something is not right here--like Legendary Tigerman is about to sell out the concert in the Coliseu.[178] Something is not really well. And all these big name bands coming to Portugal every week--every week you have some big acts coming and it´s like ´whoa, I want to go, but I don´t have money so…´
>
> **MA:** So do they put it on their credit card or what?
>
> **SS:** I don´t know. Something is really strange you know. PJ Harvey…is coming to Lisbon and the tickets were like sixty Euros, and they sold out in a few hours. Sixty Euros--come on! So I think there are too many things going on, and I´m not sure how we are paying for this, but things are moving. At the same time it is interesting because it puts Portugal on the map for concerts…We have a freelancer who promotes our concerts and she is great, but she is always saying ´we have to start thinking of promoting things earlier and earlier because it´s getting tougher.´

There are many possible explanations for how these young Portuguese can afford to pay such steep ticket prices in the midst of a multiple-year recession. The remnant legacy of easy access to credit is one explanation which had somewhat forestalled the pain of recent economic crises experienced by Greece, Ireland, Italy, Spain, and Portugal.

The macroeconomic reality of Spain and Portugal drastically changed after their 1986 integration into the European Economic Community (EEC) which would later become the European Union (EU). International money began to flow a bit easier into the national coffers of countries soon after becoming EEC members. When the Euro was finally rolled out on January 1st, 2002, both Portugal and Spain experienced an economic windfall. The countries known as the PIGS (Portugal, Ireland, Greece, and Spain) enjoyed borrowing vast sums of money at the very low interest rates offered only to

[178] The Legendary Tigerman is the stage name of Paulo Furtado, a Portuguese one-man-band (often playing guitar, drums, and harmonica simultaneously) blues performer.

AAA-rated investments.[179] According to various bond ratings agencies (i.e. Standard & Poor´s, Fitch, Moody´s, etc.) all countries in the Eurozone, from Greece to Germany, were considered of equal (minimal) risk. After the global financial meltdown of 2008, it was clear that some countries were indeed riskier than others. The façade of a permanently stable and unified European economic community crumbled shortly after Greece's newly elected government (led by then-Prime Minister George Papandreou) revised the 2009 national deficit from a previously estimated 5% to a stunning 12.7% of GDP ("A Very European Crisis"). In early 2010, it was further revealed that successive Greek governments had deliberately misreported the nation's official economic statistics in order to remain marginally within the EU´s monetary policy guidelines. The shockwave caused by this scandal was felt across the EU, and the fiscal stability of Spain and Portugal was subsequently reexamined by the aforementioned international ratings agencies. These reconsiderations led to a rapid increase in the interest rates at which Portugal and Spain could borrow. The festive atmosphere of low-interest credit was over as austerity measures were enacted across much of the EU in an attempt to regain international investor confidence. Iberian governments had effectively maxed out their credit. The Portuguese economy had already contracted sharply from 2008 to 2010. A young Lisbon music fan who, while living on a 500 Euro per month salary, frequently

[179] The AAA score is granted by international ratings agencies to financial investment instruments that have minimal risk. It is the highest rating a sovereign nation can achieve and assures the capacity for such governments to borrow at low interest rates as long as the rating is maintained.

purchases sixty Euro concert tickets is an apt metonym for the national economy during the same time period.[180]

Simões mentioned that it is becoming increasingly difficult for her to book appropriately sized venues for local acts. If the performance she books for A Naifa, for instance, falls on the same day as a major international concert, A Naifa could end up performing to a practically empty auditorium. Alternatively, in the absence of such a touring act, the concert can just as easily become overbooked, frustrating fans that are either cramped into small spaces or unable to see the band at all.

Another result of international concert saturation in Lisbon is that local booking agencies like Produtores Associados must always be planning and promoting further ahead of the international touring circuit. Local fans will then buy their tickets to see the Portuguese group before the concert agenda of an international buzz band is even announced. The prevalence of the international festival circuit has made it extremely difficult for booking agents like Simões to stay ahead since many of these events must necessarily be booked several months ahead of time. This is further complicated by the increased prevalence of the music festival.

The success of major music festival events (i.e. Lollapalooza in the United States and Reading/Leeds in England) has led to a boom in single or multiple day/stage festivals, representing a wide variety of music scenes. The frequency of such massive

[180] The evidence for this average salary is based more on anecdote than statistics. A major theme during the weekly youth protests throughout the latter half of my time in Lisbon (winter and spring of 2011) was the *geração quinhenteurista*—meant to denominate a broadly defined "generation" of Portuguese youths earning roughly 500 Euros per month. Their counterpart in Spain is the *mileurista* or the *submileurista* (earning 1000 Euros per month or less, respectively).

happenings has had an enormous impact on independent, local urban venues across Spain and Portugal. Luís Varatojo commented on the effect of international festival and concert saturation on Lisbon bands like A Naifa:

> **Luís Varatojo (LV):** Ten years ago you have this invasion of international festivals. I think Portugal is the country with the most summer festivals. Everywhere in the country, local governments, some of them, support some part of these festivals. And a lot of people go to these festivals. If you go they are always full. And there is a lot of money there. That money should go to Portuguese music. This excess of imported music is really bad for Portuguese music. I think in the seventies maybe you had one international gig. Now you have three or four a day.
>
> **MA:** Because of these festivals?
>
> **LV:** Even in the winter. If you look at the agenda of the Coliseu, the Pavilhão Atlântico, Campo Pequeno, you have lots of international gigs.[181] It's good to have the privilege to see, but I think for our music artists and industries it's too much. And the people think, ´Vampire Weekend are coming, I must see them now because tomorrow I won't be able to, but this Portuguese band…well I'll just see them tomorrow.´ And if you have lots of this it's very bad for our music. For me, it's one of the principle problems, watching this scene from the eighties until now, and the way it has changed.

Here, it is useful to consider the economic concept of opportunity costs (the cost of any activity measured in terms of the value of the next best alternative that is not chosen) with respect to cultural capital. If a local band and a touring act are performing in Lisbon on the same day, a fan of both must choose between the two. As Varatojo points out, the fan will usually choose to see the touring band, often even if she prefers the local one. For the Lisbon fan, there is little to no cultural capital opportunity cost involved in skipping the local band performance. As Varatojo insinuates, the fan believes she can "just see them tomorrow," whereas the touring band will be gone tomorrow. But as buzz bands

[181] These are the three major venues in Lisbon for famous international (and occasionally local) musical performances.

come to town more frequently, tomorrow likely brings another conflict. Varatojo, like many of his peers, realizes that the tomorrow of local music may never come.

João Aguardela´s Discursive Transcoding

Of all the absences explored in this chapter, the most tragic is the death of A Naifa lyricist and co-founder, João Aguardela on January 19th, 2009. Aguardela's cultivation of various types of musical hybridity between Portugal's rural folk traditions and rock, pop, and electronic music dates back to the 1980s with his first group Sitiados. The idea for A Naifa emerged from a prior collaboration between João Aguardela and Luís Varatojo around the turn of the millennium. They had discovered a shared taste for an eclectic mix of musical styles: punk, pop, rock, electronic, and fado. Aguardela and Varatojo first worked together from 1999 to 2003 with the band Linha da Frente, formed as a way to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Portuguese Carnation Revolution. Linha da Frente was considered a Portuguese supergroup at the time which included Viviane Parra as well as members of Delfins, Ramp, and Kussondolola. Varatojo had already become an icon for young Portuguese punks due to his success with the bands Peste & Sida (Plague & AIDS) and Despe & Siga (Undress & Follow). Aguardela enjoyed similar fame after forming the band Sitiados (Sieged) in 1987. Sitiados was Aguardela´s attempt to revitalize Portuguese traditional music for young national fans. Aguardela continued in a similar vein with the solo act he formed in 1997, Megafone. Megafone blended an experimental electronic soundscape with a variety of Portuguese regional folk musics. Linha da Frente paired poetry penned by national icons

such as Fernando Pessoa, Ary Dos Santos, and Manuel Alegre with original rock, reggae, pop, and experimental electronic music.

A Naifa would begin with a concept similar to Linha da Frente, putting music to poetry by many of the same poets. None of the founders of A Naifa had had any experience with performing fado when conceptualizing the sound they desired to create. The music evolved from a simple premise: "Before the record was ready we didn´t know what it was going to be…One thing we knew [we] wanted to do was [create] a simple band with a pop band lineup: let's say bass, drums, and guitar. But the guitar should be a Portuguese guitar and not a conventional electric guitar. So we didn't know about the style. We just found it" (Varatojo). As Varatojo studied the Portuguese guitar, the band began searching for a lead singer. Aguardela and Varatojo agreed they wanted a female vocalist who could sing in a traditional fado style, but were unconvinced by the initial auditions. They quickly realized that A Naifa needed a vocalist who could sing fado but could also reinvent the style in the same way that their music retooled the traditional generic conventions. They found who they were looking for in Mendes (aka Mitó):

> We listened to three or four voices, and most of them were really fado singers, which we didn't like. And then we heard Mitó, and it was not so heavy fado. It's like our music, it's something fado, but not that traditional fado, that traditional way of singing fado. And for that and another reason: She sings the words like they are, with the right emotion for that kind of word. It was a big difference between her and the others. There are some words in some contexts that mean something, and sometimes it means you must sing very quiet. In fado--in traditional fado--it's always trying to get the voice louder. It's a tendency to put the voice up because, when you put the voice up, it's right, it shines. When you hear our music, there are some words that are [expressed through] spoken word because it has to do with the meaning of the poem. She picked that [up] on the first try. (Varatojo)

Mendes had the difficult task of putting a hybrid vocal expression to the greatest poetic works of the Portuguese canon for A Naifa´s first two albums. Her interpretation of these poems would voice various physical, mental, and emotional states at times in accordance, at times in conflict, with the poetic text: lethargic, dissipated, and melancholic ("Meterológica"); lachrymose yet triumphant ("Rapaz a arder"); blithe and confident ("A verdade apanha-se com enganos"). A Naifa´s earliest releases are characterized by Aguardela´s downtempo bass and electronic samples, Vasco Vaz´s (and later Paulo Martin´s) minimalist beats, Varatojo´s Portuguese guitar chime fluctuating between the angular and the sinuous. Mitó complements these arrangements by switching between various vocal modes. In "Perigo de explosão," for instance, Mitó delivers the first two stanzas in a stilted spoken word accompanied only by Varatojo´s repetitive staccato and slide riff. For the third and sixth stanzas, Mitó contrasts her declamatory phrasing with an ephemeral harmony, blending with Aguardela´s slowly descending synthesizer and Varatojo´s descending arpeggio. The sound of kids playing in a swimming pool is sampled throughout the fourth and fifth stanzas. The air of levity and nostalgia provided by the samples and Mitó´s sung stanzas is contrasted by the gravitas of her spoken word delivery. Varatojo´s brief, recurring Portuguese guitar riff throughout the spoken stanzas mimics the tick and chime of a grandfather clock marking the hour, also indexing the passage of time. The sorrowful instrumental tones which gird the sung stanzas seem to lament the loss of innocence as they echo the rejection and descent into madness experienced by the poem´s protagonist who "searched for tenderness in others, but only encountered pools filled with hatred and

nitroglycerin…The impassioned terrorist carried hidden a time bomb. It was in his chest. It was his heart" ("Perigo de explosão").[182]

María Rodrigues Teixeira: Absence Personified

A curious story for A Naifa arose by their third album, *Uma inocente inclinação para o mal* (2008). According to Aguardela, a young Catalan poet and fan of the band by the name of María Rodrigues Teixeira sent him an email inquiring if they would be interested in putting music to her poetry. He agreed to share her compositions with the rest of the band. After reading several of her poems, despite the fact that no one in A Naifa had actually met Teixeira in person, they decided unanimously to use all of her poetry for their following CD. After the album was released, critics began to ask who the mysterious lyricist was. Aguardela´s wife, and current A Naifa bassist, Sandra Baptista, tells the story behind the band´s ghost writer:

> Houve um dia em que [Aguardela] vem a casa e disse 'olha, o que tu achas destas poemas?' e mostrou-me os poemas. E foram muitos giros. E eu diz 'de quem são? Quem é este poeta? Quem são estes poetas?' E ele disse 'eram de Maria Rodrigues Teixeira.' E eu 'Maria Rodrigues Teixeira? Não sei quem é.' E ele: 'Maria Rodrigues Teixeira Aguardela,' que é o nome da avó. O seudonimo do João é Maria Rodrigues Teixeira. Eu conhecia a sua avó. Maria Rodrigues Teixeira era um nome que era familiar mas eu não chegava lá à avó. 'Sou eu que está a escrever os poemas, mas eu vou querer pedir-te uma coisa—ninguem pode saber disto. Isto é uma coisa minha como estava a brincar com isto.' E eu, 'o.k.' E o que foi muito engraçado é que tudos os críticos do disco de A Naifa, foi toda a gente a escrever, tem journalistas, críticas dos jornais a dizer ´Só podia ser escrita por uma mulher que já vivia há muito, com muita sabedoria.´ (Baptista)
>
> (There was a day when [Aguardela] came home and said 'look, what do you think of these poems?' and showed me the poems. And they were really cool. And I said 'who are these by? Who is this poet? Who are these poets?' And he said

[182] ("Procurava/ nos outros a/ ternura, mas/ só encontrava/ poços cheios/ de ódio e/ nitroglicerina...O terrorista/apaixonado/ carregava, às/ escondidas,/ uma bomba-/relógio. Era/ no peito. Era/ o coração").

> 'Maria Rodrigues Teixeira.' And I was like, Maria Rodrigues Teixeira? I don't know who she is. He said, 'Maria Rodrigues Teixeira Aguardela,' which is the name of his grandmother. João [used] the pseudonym of Maria Rodrigues Teixeira. I knew his grandmother, Maria Rodrigues Teixeira. It was a name that was familiar, but I didn't [make the connection] to his grandmother. 'I am the one who is writing these poems, but I have to ask you one thing--no one can know about this. This is my thing that I just want to play with.' And I'm like, 'ok.' And what was funny was what all of the music critics and journalists said about the A Naifa album: 'it could only be written by a wise woman who has already lived through a lot.')

Aguardela's heteronym was different from him in many respects, but the worldview he constructed for her was compelling enough that national music journalists themselves began to construct biographies for her. The music critics that Baptista mentions perceived the lyrical content and form for this album as coming from a female worldview because they believed Aguardela´s story. But it is interesting that Aguardela, as a young Portuguese male, could achieve such a convincing approximation as to have his writing perceived as not only authentically female but authentically Catalan (or Portuguese-Catalan) female. Given this perspective of the established Portuguese music journalists who analyzed this album, Aguardela is shown as capable of overcoming in his poetry any mark of his gender, nationality, or even age.[183]

[183] Feminist criticism and gender theory since the 1980s has, in part, been preoccupied by the existence, or lack thereof, of an identifiable prose or poetic style that could be gendered as male or female. This has especially been a preoccupation for the feminist wing known as French structuralist feminism (Luce Irigaray, Hélène Cixous, Julia Kristeva, etc.). A female writer that may want to say something finds that she does not have her own language—a language appropriate to express her own identity. That is, she wants to write as a woman, but all she has available to say it with are men's sentences. There was no common sentence ready for her use. All of the literary prose and poetry was engendered male—the very fact of writing had to be construed as having always already a male stamp on it. The idea of these French feminist thinkers was that, on the contrary, a woman´s language does exist and can be shown in opposition to the male sentence: Women don´t write carefully constructed, rigorous periodic sentences, like those of men, but rather ongoing, digressive, ad hoc, sentences without structure (indicating a lack of ego in their writing). The critique of French feminism posited that the idea of a specific women´s writing was seen as essentializing feminine identity as a whole. What came to be termed third-wave feminism sought to challenge what it deemed the second wave´s essentialist definitions of femininity and the assumption of a universal female identity: If a woman wants to write a sentence, why can´t she write a carefully structured,

Apparently, Baptista was the only one who knew Aguardela's secret. Even his close friend and collaborator, Luís Varatojo, had no idea that it was João writing the lyrics for this album: "We didn't know. We suspected, but he always told us that he knew this girl and this girl was [living] outside Portugal and sent him the lyrics. When we were working on the songs and needed more verses, we would ask him to ask her. Then two weeks to one month later [he] would come [with] more lyrics. We suspected, but he didn't tell us anything" (Varatojo). Aguardela had already kept his secret talent from the band and press for over a year when his health began to deteriorate. The cofounder of A Naifa passed away just a few months after the release of *Uma inocente inclinação para o mal* on the 19th of January, 2009, a victim of stomach cancer.

Aguardela´s pseudonym, Maria Rodrigues Teixeira, is, in fact, a fictional poetic character--a heteronym. In order to convince the press, as well as his band mates, Aguardela described Teixera with the meticulous detail that one would typically reserve for the most intimate of acquaintances. He related her biography, her artistic temperament, her likes and dislikes, her politics and worldview, etc. In creating the heteronym of Maria Rodrigues Teixeira, Aguardela carries forward a literary technique that, although not Portuguese in origin, was most prolifically employed by the famed Portuguese poet and novelist, Fernando Pessoa. Through Pessoa we also glimpse an example of the kind of discursive transcoding that Aguardela employs nearly a century later.

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periodic sentence? Why can´t a woman write a sentence that isn´t necessarily gendered female? The search for a sexually androgynous writing came about in the wake of the criticism of French feminism. The ideal of all writing would be seen then as capable of shedding its gendered aspects.

Pessoa created and wrote under the guise of over eighty heteronyms, developing distinct biographies, writing styles, and artistic capabilities, philosophies, temperaments, etc. for each of them. The American-Portuguese writer and translator, Richard Zenith´s essay "Fernando Pessoa´s Gay Heteronym?" was the first to explore Pessoa´s sublimation of a repressed homosexual identity via poetry penned in English under his own name ("Antinoüs") as well as a bisexual identity via poetry composed under two of his most-oft used heteronyms, Álvaro de Campos ("Ode Marítima," "Passagem das Horas," "Um Soneto Já Antigo") and Ricardo Reis ("Eu nunca fui dos que a um sexo o outro"). Zenith believes Pessoa´s only female heteronym, Maria José--a hunchback dying of tuberculosis who writes (but never sends) a moving love letter to a handsome metalworker who passed by her window every day--was suggestive of Pessoa´s homosexuality when one considers "the dearth of actively heterosexual perspectives in his work. In other words, it is not surprising that a male writer who writes from dozens of points of view should occasionally adopt a female´s perspective, but it is indeed strange when, in matters of sex and passion, he consistently assumes the female position" (43). Zenith closes his essay by translating an unpublished, untitled poem penned by "Pessoa´s anonymous gay heteronym" (44). Zenith ties such examples to a segment of a letter written by Pessoa to João Gaspar Simões in order to establish that "Pessoa´s twenty-five thousand surviving manuscript sheets" evidence a complete elimination of sex from his system: "otherwise how could he have had so much time and energy for writing? From this point of view, all the mentions of sex in his work can be seen as a kind of nostalgia for what he never lived…That he had to keep on writing intensely, almost pathologically, so as to

continuously eliminate, day after day, his instinctive sexual drive or drives that relentlessly asserted themselves" (46). The assertion by Zenith that Pessoa could only write so prolifically because he restrained himself completely from sexual activity seems presumptuous. Who is to say that Pessoa was not as prolific in disguised or concealed sexual adventures as he was in disguised or concealed literary adventures? Nevertheless, Zenith´s essay constructs an interesting framework to understand Pessoa´s repressed homosexuality as the ontological impetus for the author´s manic obsession with heteronymic creativity. Pessoa´s poetic sublimation as repressed homosexual, non-practicing bisexual, or disinterested asexual, vis-à-vis these dozens of heteronyms, could be seen as discursive transcoding.[184]

Aguardela may have alienated himself, just as Pessoa did. In the following analysis of Aguardela´s lyrical creation, under the heteronym of Maria Rodrigues Teixeira, I argue that we can glimpse a kind of discursive transcoding of gender and national identities which exposes Aguardela´s oblique expression of an alienation that he believed his dearest friends and family were not ready to swallow. Aguardela´s use of the heteronym made famous in Portugal by Pessoa was not accidental. I believe he realized, long before receiving the diagnosis of stomach cancer, that he was one of contemporary Portugal´s most visionary artists. Aguardela´s ambitious creation of the

[184] If Pessoa was indeed a repressed homosexual or bisexual, then the majority of the aforementioned heteronymic poetry expressing homosexual/bisexual yearnings could not be considered as discursive transcoding, but rather a simple sublimation of sexual desire. The exception would be found in the amorous longing of the invalid Maria José--regardless of Pessoa´s sexual orientation, she provides an indirect outlet for a certain alienation too threatening for the author to express frankly; perhaps an unrequited love. Or perhaps, as Zenith concludes, it is a sexual self-exile: Pessoa abstains from sexual activity just as Maria José refrains from sending the letter to her would-be lover. Whatever the case, the alienation experienced by Pessoa manifests itself through the indirect expression of Maria José´s unsent epistle.

heteronym Maria Rodrigues Teixeira--complete with her own biography, writing style, personality, and temperament--evidences an impulse to construct poetry on the level of the best the Portuguese nation has to offer. Moreover, the desire to give life to a simulacrum perhaps points to Aguardela's realization of immanent immortality.

Aguardela´s alienation possibly derives from the fact that, having been diagnosed with a terminal disease at such a young age, he would never be able to realize the musical goals he knew he was capable of achieving. A sampling of some of the lyrics composed by Aguardela, under the heteronym of Maria Rodrigues Teixeira, provides insight into the late neofadista's own unmentionable isolation:

Dona de muitas casas,	Owner of many houses,
tudo uma grande falta de senso.	all of it meaningless.
Minha cintura testemunha	My waste testifies
do que faço para te agradar.	of all that I do to please you.

("Dona de muitas casas")

The female protagonist, who is the owner/overseer of many houses, recognizes that all her possessions, all her control is for naught. Aguardela seems to be saying that his poetic and musical talents, in the end, signify nothing: he will never be able to fulfill his goal of passing on a rich patrimony to the next generation. The next two verses highlight the protagonist´s struggle to maintain impossibly high standards (tall, slender, immaculate) to fulfill her husband's desires. Aguardela engages a feminist discourse on body image, addressing the role of media in creating and reinforcing the chauvinist discourse of the stereotypically perfect female body type. This cross-gender identification attempts to advance emancipatory ends for the global woman trapped in a structure dominated by the dominant male gaze. For an alienated Aguardela, the verses

echo the neofadista wasting away, physically, spiritually, and metaphorically. Aguardela glimpsed his cultural impact on the nation as slowly spiraling into oblivion. Despite his many historical efforts to bridge a gap between Portuguese folk and popular/indie culture (through Sitiados, Megafone, Linha de Frente, and A Naifa), Aguardela yet suffers an inability to please the dominant guardians of fado, indie, and electronic orthodoxy. All of Aguardela´s bands, like each of the *dona´s muitas casas*, are rendered meaningless. Both waste away as they strive to please. *Tudo para nada*--all for naught.

In "Nas tuas mãos vazias," Aguardela references the unrequited love suffered by a few of Pessoa´s heteronyms:

nas tuas mãos vazias,	In your empty hands,
onde eu já vivi,	where I once lived,
abrigam-se agora distintas senhoras,	which now hold other women,
com os quais não posso competir...	with whom I cannot compete…
Tenho um lugar na terra	I have a place in the ground
guardado para te sepultar.	set aside to bury you.
Fecharei a porta à chave.	I will lock the door.
Regressarás ao teu lugar.	You will return from whence you came.

The protagonist has been replaced by other women which she considers to be inherently superior. The imagery of this stanza echoes the sentiment of a fado classic associated with Amália Rodrigues and penned by Alexandre O'Neill, "Gaivota":

Se ao dizer adeus à vida,	If, while saying goodbye to life,
as aves todas do céu	all of the birds in the sky
me dessem na despedida,	bid me farewell,
o teu olhar derradeiro,	your final gaze,
esse olhar que era só teu,	this look which was yours alone,
amor que foste o primeiro,	your love which was my first,
que perfeito coração	what a perfect heart
morreria no meu peito.	would die in my chest.
Meu amor na tua mão--	My love in your hand--
nessa mão onde perfeito	in this hand where so perfectly
bateu o meu coração.	used to beat my heart.

Both songs were written by men drawing on a female perspective. Both lyrics imply the female loss of a dear male love. Both use the hands of the lover as a metonym for the man himself. "Gaivota" situates the heart in the ex-lover´s hand whereas "Nas tuas mãos vazias" places the lover herself in such hands. O´Neill´s lyrics allude to the intense nostalgia associated with the gaze of the ex-lover whereas Aguardela´s verses simply imply the lack of any male gaze whatsoever directed at the protagonist. Finally, Amália (as voice of the protagonist) sings the purity of love involved in her own death while Mitó voices her protagonist´s celebration of the death of her lost love. The obsession of both heroines with a now unrequited love may seem psychopathic to the contemporary listener, but somehow the obsession voiced in "Gaivota" is generally accepted by Portuguese fans of fado today as a sublime expression of the perfect, unrelenting, passionate love of the Portuguese woman. On the other hand "Nas tuas mãos vazias," is, according to most of the A Naifa fans with which I spoke, a fascinating Nick Cave-like murder ballad.[185] In this case the voice could be seen as turned on Aguardela himself.

Aguardela again empowers the female, contrasting her prior victimization as hopeless amorous castaway with a vengeance. Aguardela puts to music the defiance of twenty-first-century Portuguese gender power relations as product of the consequences of prior discursive strategies to control national female agency. The affirmation of such subjugation was always predicated on female fadista compliance, most notably that of Amália Rodrigues herself. Aguardela´s de-familiarization and re-familiarization as

[185] This interpretation is undoubtedly the result of the last two stanzas of the song being the repetition of the following refrain: "tenho um lugar na terra/guardado para te sepultar/apagarei a luz do quarto/regressarás ao teu lugar" (I have a spot in the ground/which I have reserved to bury you in/I will turn the light off in your room/you will return to from whence you came).

dominant Portuguese male provided him with an empathetic connection with the Portuguese female which transcended space and time.

The very title of "Nas tuas mãos vazias" evokes absence. It is an absence projected on to the owner of the empty hands via the gaze of the omniscient narrator. The two verses that follow, "onde eu já vivi/ abrigam-se agora distintas senhoras," when considered as the product of discursive transcoding, permit an interpretation that has nothing to do with unrequited love. The empty hands represent Portugal itself. This is where Aguardela, considering his own fate from the *saudoso* perspective of the future phantom, once lived. In the first two verses, the present audience--along with Aguardela´s ghost--now look back at Portugal´s empty hands. This is the present perspective of the narrator, but the future lament of the author. The absence of the author in the future is made all the more harrowing when we glimpse his replacement in verse three. Like a lover cast aside, Aguardela is replaced along with his ambitions to restore a youthful pride in Portuguese historical patrimony. His ambitions are left in the dust as Portugal goes hurtling forward into the increasingly dark night of EU membership. The author himself dissolves into oblivion as the conspicuous cultural consumption of the Portuguese indie scene moves on to *distintas senhoras*. Aguardela´s discursive transcoding here is the assimilation of his own anxiety as a future forgotten victim of the Portuguese art world with the past victim of the forgotten Portuguese female lover.

The following extracts from three different A Naifa songs represent not so much a discursive transcoding as Aguardela's identification with a specifically Portuguese schizophrenic worldview which is mired in depression, pessimism, and misery. The first

two verses allude to a uniquely Portuguese celebration and pursuit of constant melancholy:

Todos os dias agradeço a deus	Every day I give thanks to god
esta depressão que me anima.	for this depression which inspires me.

(“Esta depressão que me anima”)

Aguardela evokes here a collective Portuguese prayer for sadness. As Amália Rodrigues comically put it for a 1966 Time magazine interview: "The Portuguese are sad people…the sadder the fado, the happier they feel. And when everything is all right, we can see that it will turn out badly" (“Folk Singers: The Joy of Suffering”). The following song excerpt joins Aguardela’s own anxieties along with the age-old national binary trope of Portugal as megalomaniacal loser:

Serei suprema.	I will be the best.
Nunca serei nada.	I will never be anything.

(“Apenas durmo mal”)

Many of the neofadistas I interviewed held the conflicting convictions that Portugal would once again become a dominant power on the global stage and that Portuguese cultural norms would eventually disappear completely. The final stanza that I quote comes from the song “O Ferro de Engomar.” It is Aguardela’s poetic goodbye to his beloved nation:

Aqui te deixo,	Here I leave you,
o meu corpo exangue.	my body bloodless.
A partilha da miséria	Misery
é mais forte que o sangue.	is thicker than blood.

The above translation of the final two verses is not word for word but rather references the spirit of Aguardela´s lyric--akin to the German proverb *Blut ist dicker als Wasser* (blood is thicker than water). Generally speaking, the proverb states that familial bonds

and common ancestral links (blood) are stronger than those bonds between friends and other unrelated people (water). Aguardela´s commentary on the history of the Portuguese nation, a melting pot of various races of invaders and conquered colonial subjects, is that it shares a link stronger than that of common blood: a link of common misery.

The discursive transcoding of gender identities involved in the songs translated above show how Aguardela´s own awakened sense of mortality was put to good use. The multiple levels of marginalization which Aguardela experienced--as an indie musician practicing a kind of hybridity that was not appreciated by most citizens of a semi-peripheral European country--allowed him to perceive the various ways in which he was privileged as a white, middle-class, European male. Aguardela's choice of heteronym—a Catalan woman with a Portuguese surname—suggests a consciousness of his own advantaged yet peripheral status: Teixeira could write Portuguese, enjoyed Portuguese music, and understood the national culture and history. Perhaps she was an expat or the child of expats (like Paulo Pedro Gonçalves and Viviane Parra). Teixeira´s various identities are all rife with privilege and marginalization: As Spanish, as Catalan, as Portuguese émigré, as female, as poet, as indie, as (in reality) absent. Instead of confining himself to his deathbed, awaiting the fate of his imminent demise, Aguardela used the last vestiges of his mind and body to write and perform a neofado (a new fate, as it were) that aimed at empowering the yet subjugated Portuguese woman. He did it with the help of a Catalan female heteronym by the name of Maria Rodrigues Teixeira and a Portuguese amateur fadista by the name of Mitó. I believe if Aguardela were alive today he would take pride in the many projects that took up his call. Sandra Baptista, João

Aguardela's widow (and accordionist for his first band Sitiados), keeps his vision alive by taking his place as bassist for A Naifa while running the Associação Megafone (the Megafone Association). The Associação Megafone awards annual fellowships to Portuguese bands that, in the spirit of Aguardela, best incorporate the national musical heritage into the international sounds of today. Baptista´s work with the Associação Megafone, along with the continued creative production of A Naifa, suggest that the Portuguese indie hybrid music scene still has a use for Aguardela's Portugal-centric work, despite the pressures of cosmopolitanism.

Throughout Aguardela´s musical career, he dedicated himself to reorienting a variety of Portuguese folk musics toward an expression that his national peers could dance to, could sing along to, and could sample with confidence at a dance club. In one of his side projects, Megafone, Aguardela reached into the national rural past through sound and image sampling, creating a very contemporary and cosmopolitan collage of Portugal past and present. His use of the heteronym similarly samples Pessoa. Through Teixeira, Aguardela pays homage to the great Portuguese poet not just by copying one of Pessoa´s poetic forms, but also by emulating one of his poetic purposes, that of discursive transcoding.

Generation M-Pex

Fig. 25. M-Pex at the the GaloBar in Lagos, Portugal. Photograph by Pedro Noel da Luz, 24 October 2008, JPEG.

In the past ten years, Marco Miranda has performed as singer in a metal band, as drummer in a jazz band, as classical guitarist in a fado vadio duo, as Portuguese guitarist in a fado punk band, and, most recently, as digital composer/Portuguese guitarist for a *chillfado* group called Double MP. Around the turn of the millennium, Miranda began composing music that mixes the Portuguese guitar and electronic music. In 2007, Miranda would publish his first album under the pseudonym M-Pex. The one man band

M-Pex has, to the date of this publication, released three albums. His first creation, the full-length *Phado* (2007), was recorded at Lisbon's WorkRoomStudio. By chance, M-Pex discovered a little known local music grant opportunity vis-à-vis the Fonoteca Municipal de Lisboa (the Lisbon Municipal Sound Archives) which backed him by printing the CD inserts and promotional materials for *Phado*, also connecting him to the local dark-electronic label Thisco. Thisco, in turn, introduced M-Pex to the Portuguese distributor Whitezone.

M-Pex's next album also came by chance encounter with a local entrepreneur. While touring in support of *Phado*, Miranda was asked by Otávio Gomes, to create a soundtrack for Portugal. Gomes´s project, *Viver e sentir Portugal* (2009), attempts to capture a national sonic landscape which is put to video highlighting points of interest across the country. The project is now available as a multimedia tourism brochure that Gomes is marketing to the Portuguese government--so far to no avail. M-Pex composed the tracks for this album on the Portuguese guitar, the classical guitar, and software for his Apple laptop, before performing, recording, and mastering all tracks. M-Pex´s latest release, the EP *iPhado* (2011), continues with a similar trajectory, combining acoustic Portuguese guitar and classical guitar with preprogrammed beats composed on his laptop. Most FNAC stores carry one or all of his albums and provide a national circuit of performing spaces in which he can play live in support of new releases.

In 2010, I attended one of these shows. During live performances, M-Pex just has to tap a pedal to reproduce the majority of the sounds he has preprogrammed for all of the songs on his albums. He accompanies this music on the Portuguese guitar while sitting

down, just as all Portuguese guitarists must do as the acoustic instrument is not suited for standing performances. One of the live M-Pex shows that I saw (at the FNAC-Chiado location in central Lisbon´s Bairro Alto district) was attended by a public ranging in age from the pre-teen to the octogenarian. This diverse set of fans watched in absolute silence as Miranda evoked the rapid yet steady and flawless guitarwork of Carlos Paredes, differentiating himself from this icon by wrapping his picking in a whirling electronic soundscape.

The absence of a father figure plays a crucial role in the development of M-Pex as a musician. Miranda had lived off and on with his grandparents since he was five, after his father passed away. Miranda's first experience in the *casas de fado* was as a (somewhat reluctant) classical guitarist, accompanying his grandfather, the Portuguese guitarist Luís Tomás Pinheiro, nearly every weekend for five years during the early 1990s. His grandfather played in fado houses during the weekends and taught Portuguese guitar during the week. The adolescent M-Pex was thus constantly exposed to the Portuguese guitar, in the *casa de fado*, or simply in the *casa*. He developed an interest in Carlos Paredes at the same time that he first discovered a love for various strains of electronic music. Miranda explains how the two seemingly opposite worlds of fado and electronica eventually collided for him:

> O meu avô ofereceu-me uma guitarra portuguesa, e eu comecei a pedir algumas aulas. Comecei a treinar em casa, comecei a aprender alguns temas do Carlos Paredes, sozinho a ouvir. Eu cresci ao ouvir o fado, e ao ouvir a guitarra portuguesa... Não achava muita piada na altura, mas depois comecei a gostar...Fui ouvindo isto desde novo e que ganhei um bocadinho do ouvido porque foi relativamente fácil quando comecei a tocar a guitarra clássica...Eu apreendia [a guitarra portuguesa] facilmente...E pronto, entretanto, reencontrei um amigo de

> longa data, que era o meu vizinho. E ele andava a fazer música electrónica. E eu tinha uma ideia rara da música electrónica. Pensava que a música electrónica era aquela música que se ouvia os carrinhos de choque, das feiras. Fui à casa dele e fiquei maravilhado com as possibilidades da música electrónica. E ele na altura arranjou algum software grátis para compor, um fruityloops na altura--eu ainda trabalho com fruityloops. E comecei a fazer umas brincadeiras. Depois, um dia, o meu avô foi à minha casa e levou a guitarra, e eu gravei um pouco da guitarra dele. Tinha uma batida electrónica, e misturei, e achei engraçada. Achei engraçada que esta batida agarra-se bem à guitarra. E pronto, a partir de aí comecei a fazer umas brincadeiras até que a coisa começou a ficar um bocadinho mais composta. (Marco Miranda)
>
> (My grandfather gave me a Portuguese guitar, and I asked him for some lessons. I started practicing at home, and I began to learn some songs from Carlos Paredes by ear. I grew up listening to fado and the Portuguese guitar...I didn't really care for it at first, but then I began to enjoy it…I was listening to this sound since I was little, and I got an ear for it, so it was relatively easy when I started playing the classical guitar...The [Portuguese guitar] I learned easily...Anyway, then I met an old friend, who had been my neighbor a while back. He was doing electronic music. [Back then] I had this weird idea about electronic music. I thought it was the kind of background music that you heard at carnivals--bumper car music. I went to his house, and I marveled at the possibilities of electronic music. At the time he had some free software for composing—FruityLoops. I still work with FruityLoops. I started doing some tricks [with it]. Then one day, my grandfather came to my house with his Portuguese guitar, and I recorded him playing it. I mixed it with an electronic beat and I thought it was kind of funny. I thought it was funny that the electronic beat mixed so well with the [Portuguese] guitar. From then I started messing around with [this combination] until the compositions started to come together.)

M-Pex´s description of this clash could be a metaphor for the origin story of Iberian urban neofolk itself. Authentic neoflamenco and neofado music is not designed by some corporate office of the mainstream music industry. It is the product of a chance encounter between the past and present, the local and the global, the analog and the digital. The general sense I got from the Portuguese and Spanish musicians that I interviewed over 2010-2011 is that they dragged their feet all the way into the traditional folk music they eventually adopted: they were surrounded by the sounds of the local folk music, but many of them perceived it as tired and backward. Nevertheless, the habitus of

each of these musicians, continuously infused with flamenco or fado, gradually allows for the appreciation and internalization of the form, content, and appeal of such music. Appreciation gives way to association for the indie neoflamenco or neofado musician—the association of fado or flamenco with the pleasant, simple reflective nostalgia of youth. Association then gives way to assimilation as the musician begins to combine two markers of identity: that relating to the Iberian gaze of the intriguing, internationally hegemonic Other, and that relating to the recognition of the Iberian self.

Miranda is content with the reaction he has received so far to his music. He explained to me that the people that attended his early FNAC shows were confused and intrigued as he set up his computer and tuned his Portuguese guitar: "mas depois começavam a bater o pé, e começavam a gostar. Fui esse o feedback que eu tive…Pessoas mais velhas com pessoas mais novas...as pessoa mais velhas se calhar agarram-se um bocadinho mais à sonoridade da guitarra portuguesa, e as pessoas mais novas agarram-se à parte electrónica" (Miranda) (but later on they began to tap their feet and enjoy the performance. This was the feedback that I received…Older people and younger people alike…The older members of the audience were perhaps more attracted to the sound of the Portuguese guitar, and the younger members to the electronic aspects). Even more important to M-Pex´s impulse to continue with his creation was the reaction of his grandfather. When Miranda first performed for him, his grandfather's initial reaction was marked by confusion. He asked Miranda who had played all the drums and bass on the recordings. Miranda explained to his grandfather that all of the extra parts were never performed by anyone, but had been composed by Miranda himself on the

computer. Miranda beamed with a modest pride as he spoke to me of his grandfather's reaction to the performance:

> Ele sentia um grande orgulho...Não foi um crítico, não disse "não, não vais a lado nenhum com isto"...Continua a ficar super contente. Agora quando eu fui ao Brasil, ele ficou super empolgado. Ele foi uma vez a Holanda a tocar. Foi o único concerto que ele esteve internacional. Esteve lá dois dias...E pronto, ele a saber que eu comecei de nada, e estou a começar a ser reconhecido um pouco, e eu ir ao Brasil foi realmente um grande reconhecimento para ele também. E talvez, o que eu sinto é que ele deve pensar que a missão foi cumprida no facto de ter passado o conhecimento dele da guitarra, o gosto pela guitarra. (Marco Miranda)
>
> (He felt a great deal of pride...He was not a critic, he didn´t say "no, you won´t go anywhere with this"…He continues to be very content [with the project]. When I went to Brazil, he was super excited. He had once played in the Netherlands. It was the only concert he performed outside of Portugal. He was there for two days ... And so, knowing I began from nothing, and now that I'm starting to be recognized a little, and for me [to perform in] Brazil, it was really a great recognition for him as well. And I feel that perhaps he must think that his mission was accomplished in having been able to pass on his knowledge of the Portuguese guitar, his love for the guitar.)

M-Pex was proud to be able to carry on the tradition that had been passed down to him by his grandfather. This relationship could be seen as a metonym for contemporary fado social history itself. Miranda's grandfather is symbolic of a generation that actually experienced fado as a celebrated music of the people, prior to the Salazar-era co-optation of the traditional music as part of his *Três Fs* (fado, *futebol e Fátima*).[186] The generation

[186] *Os Três Fs* (The Three Fs) of fado, *futebol e Fátima* was a form of Salazar-era coercion based on distraction and affirmation. Salazar´s adoption of the Three Fs around the beginning of the 1950s symbolized those elements which the dictator wished to establish as essential Portuguese values. A heavily censored fado lyricism would help promote conservative national values by reinforcing faith, gender roles, patriotism, strong work ethics, etc. All of the transgressive elements inherent in nineteenth-century fado culture (prostitution, the celebration of the degenerate vagabond, sovereign challenges, etc.) would be simply erased from the collective memory over time. Salazar hoped that an allegiance to regional *clubes de futebol* (soccer teams) would occupy the free time and private discussions of Portuguese citizens. Such an innocuous distraction would alleviate everyday social tensions as the hopes and fears of the national citizen would be effectively displaced. The impoverished Portuguese citizenry would be further distracted by the age-old opiate of the masses, religion. Fátima is a small city in northern Portugal which hosts O Santuário

represented by Miranda´s parents generally experienced fado as a music iconic of the Estado Novo, and as a sound indexical of oppression itself. After the 1974 Carnation Revolution, many Portuguese young and old alike wanted to leave fado in the past. They had little desire to pass on this tradition to the next generation (Nery 256). The Portuguese age bracket represented by Miranda is what I will call the generation M-Pex. Based on the interviews that I conducted in Lisbon with musicians, fans, academics, journalists, and music industry professionals, they perceived this generation to be largely embarrassed by fado, considering the music symbolic of a particular national backwardness which reinforces Portugal´s semi-peripheral position within the European Union. Nevertheless, the interviews also revealed a generation marked by an inescapable habitus informed by all the Portuguese traditions they grew up surrounded with, as well as a surging sense of identity ambiguity. This generation´s prior celebration of identity markers which were external to Portuguese culture seemed to slowly cave as the national distinctiveness they had also long cherished slowly disintegrated in a wash of European and Anglophone cultural hegemony. This was the national condition which many indie neofadistas expressed to me as an important impulse behind their hybrid creation—a desire to look inward to discover the last bastions of palatable national traditions and to recover this patrimony for the Portuguese youth of today and tomorrow.

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de Nossa Senhora de Fátima (The Sanctuary of Our Lady of Fátima), a Roman Catholic basilica consecrated in 1953 to commemorate a series of Marian apparitions reported by three Portuguese children in 1917. The message delivered by Mary to the children was that of peace for Portugal. This call for national peace (coming about in the midst of Portuguese involvement in World War I) functioned for Salazar as a way to keep peace at home as well as abroad (Portugal remained neutral during World War II in part due to the pacifist exhortations of the Marian apparitions). Fátima also symbolized an affirmation of the only acceptable national credence in orthodox Roman Catholic doctrine.

Fado Vadio

As mentioned above, M-Pex began his musical performance career accompanying his grandfather during *fado vadio* (literally vagabond fado) nights at various Lisbon-area *casas de fado*. *Fado vadio* is a curious mix of what Thomas Turino refers to as simultaneous and sequential participatory music (48).[187] During a typical evening of *fado vadio* several novice, amateur, and even professional fadistas take their turn at performing whichever traditional fado song they choose. Depending on the *casa de fado*, the performers for the evening are either determined beforehand, or the sequence of performance is determined randomly according to who shows up when. Regardless of the skill level of the performing fadista, other members within the audience often sing along to the parts of any given song that they know. They normally perform without a microphone, accompanied by a Portuguese guitarist and a classical guitarist with vast memorized repertoires. M-Pex describes some of his memories of the challenges involved for the backup musicians during an ordinary night of *fado vadio*:

> O meu avô tinha que ter uma memoria estrondosa porque no fado vadio, nós não conhecemos o fadista. O fadista diz, "eu quero o 'fado menor' em si", e nós temos que tocar o 'fado menor' em si. Eles dizem a tonalidade do fado porque é a

[187] Sequential participatory music includes features of presentational music making in that several people of varying levels of skill take their turn performing for an audience. Turino gives the examples of North American and Japanese karaoke events: "the key feature that makes karaoke participatory is the underlying ethos that others present will eventually do a song…Karaoke is particularly interesting because it is a sequential participatory tradition stripped down to the barest essential—the participatory frame itself—which paradoxically allows participants to play at being presentational performers with high fidelity backup" (49-51). Simultaneous participatory music occurs when the presentational performance of an individual is accompanied by other members within the audience. Turino gives the example of Prespa Albanian weddings in which everyone is expected to perform: "[Since] people have different levels of expertise, there are customary ways that more experienced singers help the less experienced, thus making successful participation possible. The main singer of a song certainly renders the core part, but if she is not an experienced singer, women with more expertise will serve as accompanists and help her through her performance" (49). As explained in the main text, *fado vadio* typically combines such elements characteristic of both sequential and simultaneous participatory music.

tonalidade em que a voz se encaixa melhor. A seguir pode vir outro fadista que nós não conhecemos e pedir o mesmo fado em lá, e nós temos de saber tocá-lo em lá. E quem começa a dar a melodia é o meu avô na guitarra. A viola pois vem depois. E são centenas, centenas de fados. O meu avô lembrava-se em quase todos. Claro que de vez em quando havia uma situação ou outra em que pediam um fado canção, que é diferente do fado vadio, com uma letra específica, e o meu avô 'não estou dentro desse fado' e recusava-se de tocar, o fadista pedia outro. E depois chegava a acontecer coisas curiosas, por exemplo havia um fadista que pedia em do sustenido. Para a guitarra é um pouco complicado. Tenho que fazer a tradução, e o meu avô dizia assim ao meu ouvido 'vamos tocar em do,' e eu 'a serio?' Tocávamos em do. Muitas vezes o fadista não se percebia da diferença do sustenido, mas houve vezes em que acabava a música, e a fadista dizia assim 'isto não estava em do sustenido'. E o meu avô depois 'olha, esta para o próxima quando vem a pedir vamos tocar no acorde que ele pedir'. Havia fadistas que percebiam muito o assunto e tinham um ouvido e sabiam cantar muito bem. Mas cheguei a acompanhar fadistas completamente bêbedos, perdiam o compasso, o tempo, atrasavam. E depois eu--na minha situação, como tocava a viola e a viola é que marca o tempo—e então as vezes é atrasar um bocadinho para frente, para atrás. As vezes batíamos com o pé [para sutilmente dar a entender o tempo ao fadista]. Muitas vezes o fadista não sabia cantar, olhava para trás e as pessoas ficavam a pensar que nós é que estávamos a tocar mau, também acontecia isso. (Marco Miranda)

(My grandfather had to have had an immense memory because [when we play for] *fado vadio*, we do not know the singer. The singer says, 'I want to do *fado menor* ' in B, and we have to play *´fado menor* ' in B. They tell us the fado key that best fits their range. Then another singer can come along that we [also] do not know and asks to do the same fado in the key of A, and we must know how to play it in the key of A. And my grandfather is the one who has to set the melody since he plays the Portuguese guitar. The classical guitar comes in afterward. And there are hundreds and hundreds of fados. My grandfather remembered [how to play] nearly all of them. Of course from time to time a fadista would ask to perform a *fado canção*, which is different from *fado vadio*, with a particular lyric, and my grandfather [would say] 'I don´t know this fado' and would ask the singer to choose another. And then other interesting things would happen. For example, a singer once asked us to play in C sharp. For the classical guitar it is a little tricky. I have to transpose [on the fly], and so my grandfather whispered to me 'let's just do it in C' and I said 'seriously?' We played it in C. Often the singer does not realize the difference when we don't play it [in C] sharp, but there were times when the music ended, and the singer just said 'that was not [in C] sharp'. And then my grandfather would say to me, 'look, the next time he asks us to play in that key we better play it.' There were singers who perceived the difference and really had an ear and could sing very well. But I sometimes had to accompany singers who were completely wasted drunk, who lost their compass, fell behind.

> And then I--since I was playing the guitar, and the guitar is what keeps time—would have to catch up or slow down. Sometimes we would tap our feet [to subtly remind the singer of the correct rhythm]. Often the singer could not sing, and he would look back at us, and people would think that we were the ones playing bad.)[188]

The other half of M-Pex's generic roots, electronic music, is likewise a blend of presentational and participatory performance.[189] In the disco/club/rave atmosphere, one of the primary goals and effects of electronic music is to get everyone dancing. In this sense it can be seen according to Turino's definition as "a participatory performance that simply involves different functional roles—instrumentalists, singers, and dancers" (52). Nevertheless, the end result of the hybrid combination music style that M-Pex performs live is essentially presentational due to the places in which he often performs, the most frequent spaces being those housed by the various Portuguese FNAC chain stores. The FNAC locales in which he performs are typically set up in the bar-cafe adjacent to the recorded music section of the electronics department store. All of FNAC's *Ao Vivo* performances are held during normal store hours, opening as early as ten in the morning and closing as late as midnight. These hours are not very conducive to creating the atmosphere of the dance or rave club. In addition, the standard FNAC cafe is lit by florescent tubes and is set up with rows of chairs for the audience. This naturally impedes any kind of participatory dancing from occurring. Based on the two Lisbon-area FNAC M-Pex shows I saw during my fieldwork, the average age for his performances is

[188] I include this rather lengthy segment from my interview with M-Pex to provide, in part, the backup musician's perspective of the challenges inherent in performing *fado vadio* as a simultaneous and sequential participatory music. I also include it as an (albeit brief) nod to Salwa Castelo-Branco's highlighting of fado's all-too-often unexplored instrumental performers which she calls ´Músicos Ocultos" (2008)--a term itself referential of Ruth Finnegan's study *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town* (2007).

[189] In Turino's terms, dancing to electronic music would be participation, and the sound would be either studio audio art or hi-fidelity recording.

around forty or fifty, further reminding would-be ravers that this is not the kind of participatory performance environment to which they are accustomed. Despite the rapid paced, energetic grooves underpinning M-Pex´s electronic experimentalism, his FNAC events have more in common with a tame FNAC Camané performance than a raucous, ecstasy-infused Pendulum drum and bass rave party.[190]

M-Pex has performed in other national venues, including Lisbon-area dance clubs, national theaters, the Centro Cultural de Belém, radio (live in studio), *santos populares* (annual municipal festivals celebrating their patron saint), municipal cultural anniversaries, and even a boat performance on the Tagus River. Although several of these events are of a celebratory nature, they are not celebratory in the sense of an electronic scene nightclub. They tend more toward family-oriented, daytime, or early evening happenings in honor of some national historic milestone. Despite the combination of participatory-presentational musical roots (*fado vadio* and electronic) that have largely informed M-Pex´s style, the majority of his live performances are, thus, almost exclusively presentational in nature. M-Pex admits a desire to perform more often in a participatory environment, but laments the lack of such available spaces in which to perform his unusual hybrid form within Portugal. The following section deals with the transition of Lisbon fado from a participatory music performance practice to a far more strictly presentational performance practice over the course of the twentieth century. Understanding the repercussions of this transition will help ground our understanding of

[190] Camané is the most successful male fado singer amongst the generations that began performing around the end of the Salazar dictatorship. Pendulum is an Australian and British drum and bass group founded in 2002 in Perth, Australia that has also experimented with hard rock, heavy metal, and other subgenres of electronic music.

how the Lisbon fado in general has been progressively cordoned off, effectively eliminating the practical participation of most any amateur, would-be practitioners of indie or indie electronic neofado.

Salazar´s Purification of Fado

Although the origins of Lisbon´s *fado vadio* scene were founded on a simultaneous and sequential participatory music performance tradition that gathers together the most diverse background of urban citizens, Lisbon fado since the final decade of the nineteenth century could be considered the very antithesis to this mode of all-inclusive, communal music production. The exclusivity of fado as a presentational performance began, as Rui Vieria Nery points out, with its professionalization around this time period:

> Trata-se…de alguém que é agora frequentemente chamado a apresentar-se em salões da nobreza ou da grande burguesia, que actua por vezes em espectáculos públicos como os famosos concertos do Casino, que é protegido...pelos respectivos proprietários, para quem a presença certa de fadistas consagrados é a garantia da afluência de clientela aficionada. (137)
>
> (We are talking about...someone who is frequently invited to perform in the salons of the nobility or the richest bourgeoisie, who occasionally performs for public events and concerts held in the famous [Estoril] Casino, who the owners look after carefully, those [owners who realize that] these consecrated fadistas ensure the influx of an affluent clientele.)

This is when the real money started pouring in for the best fadistas, allowing and encouraging them to dedicate more time to the development of their repertoire and performance skills. Nery posits that the confluence of the prior establishment of this select group of fado professionals with the introduction of the phonograph to Portugal (from the first half decade of the twentieth century on) led to the consecration of the era´s

most celebrated fadistas.[191] By the end of World War I, the Portuguese recording industry changed strategies which would effect a further narrowing within the realm of professional fado, both with respect to the quantity of performers and to the style variation amongst this group.[192] After 1920, record labels in Portugal began to pay more money for fewer and bigger stars instead of paying token amounts to an array of semi-professional fadistas. Over the course of the twenties, fadista professionals began to perform for a burgeoning middle class urban population in cafes, beer halls, dance halls/salons, theaters, cinemas, and, by the end of the decade, the first *casas de fado* (Nery 138-185). This was a drastic transition from the nineteenth-century origins of the fado as music of a (communal) squalor—the collective voice emanating from the urban marginalized rogues, prostitutes, and vagabonds haunting the dangerous Alfama and Mouraria neighborhoods nightly with their tales of love and loss. It was a vagabond fado, a *fado vadio*, which was disappearing in the attempt to clean up fado's image so that it could be more easily consumed and digested by the Portuguese upper and middle classes of the era. The post-war purification of fado vis-à-vis its professionalization could also be seen as an initial attempt at sanitizing and consolidating the imagined

[191] The most prolific of these early fadista celebrities was Reinaldo Varela. Varela recorded around 140 tracks for seven different record companies during the first decade in which the phonograph phenomenon took hold of the nation (Nery 138).

[192] Although Nery mentions that the early success of the recording industry caused a tendency toward greater homogeneity with respect to Lisbon fado in general, he also signals a certain formal and poetic experimentalism around the same time period: "Para lá das novas opções temáticas que resultam do empenhamento ideológico radical do Fado republicano e socialista…há ao mesmo tempo uma preocupação com a procura de novos modelos formais, novos padrões métricos e novos esquemas de rima, que sem pretenderem destronar o uso maioritário da quadra em redodilha maior...visam agora diversificar os recursos poéticos disponíveis no repertório fadista" (166) (Beyond the new thematic options that accompany a radical republican and socialist ideological commitment via fado...there exists a simultaneous concern with the search for new forms, for new meters and rhyme schemes which, though not attempting to overthrow the far more common use of the heptasyllabic quatrain...are now aimed at diversifying the poetic resources available for the fadista repertoire).

community of the post-monarchical nation as a whole, a project that would later be of utmost importance to António Salazar and his Estado Novo. As Benedict Anderson (1983) has shown, all imagined communities exclude certain members from the national imaginary. In Salazar´s mid-century imagined Portuguese community, fado would be co-opted and exalted while the misfit marginalized degenerates (specifically the street and tavern performers of the Mouraria and Alfama neighborhoods—prostitutes, pimps, vagabonds, beggars, ex-slaves, bandits, and rebels) responsible for its very creation would be silenced.[193]

The normalizing impact of Salazar´s Estado Novo censorship on fado lyricism was exacerbated by the regime´s restrictions on who could professionally perform fado music through the issuance of *carteiras profissionais* (professional licenses) for fadistas as well as other performers. These licenses were granted for the term of one year and could be renewed after the regime´s annual review of any given fadista. Naturally, the Salazar regime assured a limited supply of *carteiras profissionais*, creating an *artificial* price equilibrium with respect to the supply and demand of fado performances.[194] Basic economic theory presupposes that the resulting rarity of the fado performance would mean that, respectively speaking, a *carteira profissional* could be quite lucrative since the supply of fado performances drops whereas the demand for the same remains mostly

[193] It is interesting to note, however, that the imagined community that Salazar promoted via the censorship or promotion of various fado lyrics was not, in contrast to Franco´s Spain, intended as a commodity for export as tourist attraction. As Paul Vernon (amongst innumerable other commentators on the era) points out, Portugal during the Estado Novo was extremely isolationist: "the government made no attempt to censor the theme of poverty. Prostitution, long an established facet of urban life in both Lisbon and Porto, was another topic not subject to censorship. Such a course of action would have been practically useless, since poverty and prostitution are daily facts of life…It did not occur to them that anyone outside of the Lusophone world would bother to listen to Fado" (21).

[194] I emphasize the word artificial here because, after all, how could a government possibly determine the quantity of quality, profitable musicians existing in any given nation?

constant. Few professional fadistas, therefore, would dare draw outside the lines of good taste and patriotism as established by the Estado Novo dictatorship. Such a scarcity of resources (supply of professional fadista licenses) had perhaps ingrained in the professional fadista community a survival of the fittest, manifesting itself in what M-Pex (below) perceives as a closed-off secret society.

The Effect of the Salazar Legacy on Neofado Innovation

We can now return to present-day Portugal to speculate as to how a tradition of fadista protectionism may be currently constraining the indie and indie electronic neofado scene. M-Pex, accustomed to learning by ear, attempted a few years ago to watch a few YouTube videos of some old fado tunes to see if he could pick up visually the pieces he couldn't grasp by ear alone. He mentions one of the major icons from the period dating back to the establishment of the Estado Novo, Alfredo Marceneiro, and illustrates just how closed off and secretive that professional fadista community was:

> eu já vi vídeos antigos de fadistas e guitarristas, Alfredo Marceneiro a cantar e o braço da guitarra, e da viola, praticamente não se vê. Eu acho que era uma escola de guitarra muito fechada...Não sei como é que explica isso, mas, por exemplo, nós hoje vemos na televisão uma banda a tocar, e quem saiba tocar guitarra ou a viola, ou whatever, sabe é que acordes a pessoa esta a fazer, não é? Imensos vídeos antigos...e é impossível porque cortam a mão. Então é uma defesa muito grande pela tradição...Eu acho que uns anos atrás havia uma grande defesa por essa tradição, quase esquizofrênica. Quero dizer, a filmar um fadista a cantar com viola e guitarra, e não filmarem os braços das guitarras é estranho, não é?...Eu não percebo porque existe essa defesa tão grande em--não sei--querer uma escola praticamente secreta. (Marco Miranda)
>
> (I've watched some old videoclips of fadistas and Portuguese guitarists, Alfredo Marceneiro is singing, and the neck of the Portuguese guitar, as well as that of the classical guitar, you can't really see. I think it was a very closed group of guitarists…I don't know how to explain it, but, for example, today when we watch a band play on the television, those who know how to play the Portuguese guitar or the classical guitar, or whatever, know what chords this guy is playing,

> right? [There exist] vast archives of old footage…and it's impossible [to learn from it] because they cut off the [fingering] hand. So it is some intense defense of [fado] tradition. I think a few years back there was an extreme, almost schizophrenic, protection of this tradition. That is, to film a fadista who is accompanied by a classical guitar and a Portuguese guitar and to not film the neck of the guitars—it's strange, don't you think? I don't understand why this extreme protectionism exists—I don't know--to want a movement that is practically like a secret society?)

This was M-Pex´s response to a question that had been bothering me throughout my entire stay in Lisbon with respect to the profound lack of Portuguese guitar method books, Portuguese guitar tablature, Portuguese guitar lessons, etc. He was as dumbfounded as I was.

The question I had for M-Pex came as a result of my extreme frustration with the difficulty I personally had in finding materials with which to teach myself the Portuguese guitar. I discovered this complete lack of Portuguese guitar method resources (over thirty-five years after the fall of the dictatorship--and with it the *carteiras profissionais* they portioned out) when I decided to try to learn how to play the Portuguese guitar during my ten months of fieldwork in Lisbon. Prior to my fieldwork from August 2010 to May 2011, I had spent two months in Lisbon during the summer of 2008. At the end of that summer I purchased a Lisbon-style Portuguese guitar and the method book *Guitarra Mágica: Fado* (2007) by Eurico Cebolo. I quickly realized that, although the guide provided tuning instructions and chord structures, it would be of little use to me since it offered precious few fado tunes. Those that it did provide were transcribed with a musical notation that I could only clumsily read, accompanied by an exceedingly complex form of tablature that I also couldn´t efficiently follow. So when I returned to Lisbon in 2010, I decided to buy a Coimbra-style Portuguese guitar and, for lack of any

other method book, the same Cebolo publication. I once again threw the book aside and decided to search out online any affordable individual instruction for the Portuguese guitar. I wrote an email to the only self-employed and internet-savvy Portuguese guitar instructor I found after extensive searching, Ricardo Mata.[195] Ricardo charged sixty-five Euros per month for weekly, one hour instruction. Ricardo taught me a lot during the first few weeks about posture, proper attack, and fluid fado rhythm. He wrote out each week a new set of traditional fado structure tablature for me to practice. I decided to quit after the New Year because I had spent several frustrating weeks on the same piece. Ricardo is a perfectionist. He wouldn´t let me move on to the next song until I could perform the prior tablature without flaw or hesitation. I figured I could no longer afford to pay roughly one hundred dollars per month to repeat the same song over and over indefinitely.

Acknowledging my dire financial straits, I made a New Year´s resolution that I would learn the Portuguese guitar like any other impoverished Lisbon indie kid had to—I´d do it on my own. Armed with the basics of proper posture, attack, and rhythm, I began to search online for fado tablature. Unlike M-Pex, I am not inclined to learn guitar by ear. Perhaps I had grown soft over my many years as a student of guitar with access to the internet. As a practicing musician of over fifteen years on the electric guitar, I had come to learn that virtually any song that one may desire to perform is available in tablature form if one digs enough online. The vast majority of guitar or bass tablature

[195] The Museo de Fado offers Portuguese guitar individual instruction as well, but the fees they charged at the time were out of my price range (170 Euros per month). In addition, a couple of music school institutions offered Portuguese guitar classes at non-competitively priced rates, one of the two was where Ricardo Mata also taught.

requires nothing more than typing the song title into a search engine and then clicking the mouse twice. So I figured that at least a few fado classics would be transcribed into Portuguese guitar tablature and available for the general web-savvy public. I discovered *absolutely nothing*. I tried to learn by ear, but the twelve strings of the Portuguese guitar tuned in a configuration to which I was not accustomed proved to be an insurmountable barrier to entry for my untrained ear. I realized then that I had to go underground. I gave up my email address to any fado-oriented website in the hope that just one would provide me with at least a lead. I joined fado and Portuguese guitar chatrooms. I asked fado vadio amateur Portuguese guitarists as well as famous professional players (like Mário Pacheco) to share with me any insight they had as to how to find some tablatures. All to no avail. Finally, after what seemed like endless searching, I joined an online community posting site called the Fórum do Portal da Guitarra Portuguesa (Portuguese Guitar Portal Forum). I watched the postings daily. I saw that one member posted that he had scanned to disc several of his Portuguese guitar sheet music and tabs. I wrote him one night at three am asking if he would be willing to share any of them with me. On the same day (the eleventh of January, 2011), this generous gentleman by the name of Joel Falheira shared with me his stockpile of tablatures ranging from simple, traditional Lisbon and Coimbra fado songs to extremely complex Carlos Paredes tabs.[196] I began to practice every day. In late April, 2011, I returned to classes with Ricardo Mata, asking him to help me resolve some of the rhythmic troubles I had struggled over with a few of the

[196] His response to my inquiry was as gracious as it was revealing of the predicament I am describing: "O que tenho está aqui...De nada amigo, estamos aqui é para nos ajudar-mos uns aos outros. Depois se tiveres algo envia amigo... eu tudo o que é novo para mim envio logo" (Falheira) (What I have is [attached] here...No problem my friend, we are all here to help one another out. If you come across anything in the future you can send it to me my friend…whatever new [tabs] I find, I'll send your way.)

Carlos Paredes songs I was trying to get down. He did. When my final class was over, Mata asked if he could copy some of my tabs.

This rather long aside I offer just to illustrate the paucity of musical information available for potential neofado musicians. Whereas an immense variety of flamenco guitar method books, instructional videos, and tablatures are easily attainable through websites like amazon.com, melbay.com, graf-martinez.com, tabsflamenco.com, or ravennaflamenco.com (just to name a few), similar resources for Portuguese guitar instruction remain elusive.[197] How is an indie or electronic kid that, unlike M-Pex, does not have a trained ear nor relatives who could ingratiate him or her into the world of fado supposed to carry on the tradition for the next generation? How many young Portuguese musicians can afford to pay 175 (or even 65) Euros per month for individual Portuguese guitar lessons?[198] How many potentially visionary torchbearers of fado for the twenty-first century have the willpower to spend countless hours searching online and emailing strangers to find their own Joel Falheira? This is perhaps as good as any evidence that I can provide to demonstrate how the antiquated protectionism of present-day traditional fado circles continues to mirror the same regressive, isolationist tendencies of the Salazar regime. If the Portuguese government wishes to safeguard their historical patrimony for the next generations, it will have to do a much better job of creating and fostering the

[197] *Amazon.com* alone seems to have an inexhaustible supply of flamenco guitar method books by a number of authors: Gerhard Graf-Martinez, Juan Martin, Dennis Koster, Robert Levant, Anita Sheer, Hugh Burns, Juan Serrano, Jonathan "Juanito" Pascual, Luigi Marraccini, and Juan Lorenzo. The same site visited the same day (January 17th, 2013) provides only one instructional reference book on the Portuguese guitar by Tobe A. Richards. Richard's book, however, is not a method book but a *Portuguese Guitar Chord Bible*.
[198] These fees must be considered in light of the fact that the Portuguese urban youth today, if he or she has a job, earns on average around half of his *mileurista* Spanish neighbor—that is, roughly 500 Euros per month.

kind of opportunities for such critical musical training. The Portuguese guitarists that practice in an institute like the Museu do Fado or the Cemaudium School of Music tend to land performance jobs within traditional acts. Some of them maybe even venture out into somewhat experimental strains of traditional fado. There of course is nothing wrong with that. However, the majority of Portuguese youth today do not listen to traditional fado nor even the experimental side of Novo Fado. They do however listen to, and are often heavily influenced by, groups like A Naifa and M-Pex. If such an A Naifa or M-Pex fan has a brilliant, new direction in mind for his own neofado project, where does he go to affordably get down the fundamentals? Perhaps this is why there exists a multitude of unskilled, punkish Portuguese bands who set out to deliberately offend the fado traditionalists. They choose to approach fado as if it were the Berlin Wall—something that must be destroyed for the nation to be freed of its ugly past. They only engage fado tradition in order to tear it down: traditional lyrics screamed out of tune, tuning and distorting the Portuguese guitar as if it were an electric guitar (EADGBE instead of DABEAB), employing established fado conventions only to juxtapose them with the inane, the profane, the scatological, etc. I wish neither to demean such an endeavor nor to dwell on it, since their project is distinct from that which forms the core of this study. The handful of neofadistas that are the focus of these chapters represent a generation of musicians that aspire to establish a new future for fado at a critical juncture in Portuguese history. Fado continues to struggle for survival as an overpriced attraction for the few educated or curious international tourists who deign to travel on the periphery of Europe.

El Ultimo Grito: Where Have All the *Penas* Gone?

Fig. 26. El Ultimo Grito: Unlimited Trance Flamenco. El Ultimo Grito members are pictured here from left to right: Diego "El Kinki," David Marcos, and Julián Demoraga. Photograph by Régine Abadia, logo design and image layout by Julián Demoraga, 2013. JPEG.

El Ultimo Grito is an avant-garde indie electronic neoflamenco band based out of Paris. The group was formed by two Spanish ex-pats musicians, Julián Demoraga and Diego "El Kinki". Demoraga and El Ultimo Grito help to explain how contemporary technological revolutions have affected the way the Spanish imagined community envisions itself within European and global spheres. Specifically, Demoraga mourns the death of *duende* for the modern-day Spaniard. Is the mystical *duende* now truly absent? The technological dystopia which Demoraga and El Ultimo Grito lament is, paradoxically, expressed through a musical technique which is, in its very essence, iconic of technological advance: indie experimental electronica.[199]

[199] Patrick Maguire defines technological dystopia as "a society in which the application of science has created a world much worse than what came before it" (qtd in Riepe 8).

El Ultimo Grito derives a hybrid combination style from eclectic musical and cultural influences, creating a kind of cacophony *jondo*. The band has discovered a niche of like-minded French and Spanish expat followers in Paris. Nevertheless, the indie electronic group's wild take on flamenco music can often be a difficult sell in France: "En España, la música electrónica está en todas partes (bares, salas, verbenas, télé.) Es un fondo cultural común. En Francia, la gente no tiene las mismas referencias musicales. Y el público sensible al flamenco y muchos aficionados suelen más escuchar un flamenco tradicional, «puro». Tienen una idea del flamenco, el mito del «puro»" (García Ramos) (In Spain, electronic music is everywhere (in the bars, clubs, festivals, television.) It is a shared cultural foundation. In France, people don´t have the same musical references. Also, the [French] audience that responds to flamenco, and the many [French] flamenco fans typically listen to traditional, 'pure' flamenco. They have an idea about flamenco, the myth of 'purity').

Demoraga moved from Madrid to Paris in 1982 in order to finish his studies of art history and restoration. In Paris, about a decade later, Demoraga began to first discover an affinity for electronic music. A little more than a decade after his first introduction to electronic sounds, Demoraga would meet his current collaborator, Diego "El Kinki", while the latter was performing with his electronic group Le Dernier Cri. Following some impromptu live collaboration between Diego and Julián, they formed the band El Ultimo Grito. The band´s first release, *Una hora* (2009) was based on this improvisational spirit, the cathartic release of a momentary rush of *duende*: "Para nuestro primer disco ´una hora´, la inspiración fue firme e inmediata: lo sentí, lo hice! No hubo

premeditación alguna" (Demoraga, "Re:ULTIMO") (For our first album, ´una hora´, the inspiration was unwavering and immediate: I felt it, I did it! There wasn´t a moment of premeditation). Diego and Julián each contribute a foundation for their improvisations. Diego at times provides a beat and structure for a song based on a variety of *palos* to which Julián will contribute text and melody. Alternatively, Demoraga will create a lyrical structure based on his poetry to which Diego composes a variety of beats. Whatever the case, the song is always initially performed without practice before an audience which functions to heighten sensitivity and awareness for both contributors. For *Una hora*, the pair desired to create a radicalized concept of improvisational neoflamenco by excluding the most essential element of flamenco music, the guitar. The absence of the guitar, a metonym of flamenco itself, creates a sonic gap which functions as a metaphor for the absence of *duende* in contemporary flamenco music—a theme which was repeated in my interview with the band. The rhythmic component of the flamenco guitar was replaced by *palmas*, while the guitar´s melodic elements were performed by a handful of Parisian musicians playing a variety of wind and brass instruments: the saxophone, the flute, the clarinet, the clarion, etc. The band only decided to finally incorporate the flamenco guitar after meeting Stéphan Péron, a French guitarist who joined the band in 2007. Julián and Diego decided they could integrate Perón´s guitarwork into their sound while maintaining an air of avant-garde *duende* by making him adapt his traditional flamenco guitar technique education to their non-traditional, chaotic live improvisational performances.[200]

[200] Diego "El Kinki" informed me in March, 2013, that the band ultimately decided to drop the guitar from

The primary reference point for most fans of indie electronic and flamenco music is the much more subdued band Chambao. The lack of trance and pounding rhythms in Chambao's slow tempo compositions led the band and producer Henrik Takkenberg to coin a new subgenre for their electronic flamenco music which they refer to as flamenco chill.[201] Demoraga and Diego say that the only perceivable flamenco influence in Chambao comes through the vocal expression. El Ultimo Grito´s members believe electronic flamenco should be richer, especially with respect to the traditional flamenco *palo* rhythms: "Chambao es ritmo de house, pero no van entrando en los ritmos bulerías…no van entrando en estas cosas. Hacen música más mainstream, salen los mismos ritmos habituales" (Diego "El Kinki") (Chambao uses a house rhythm, but they never experiment with *bulerías* rhythms…they don´t involve themselves with these issues. They make mainstream music which employs the same tired rhythms).[202] El Ultimo Grito, by comparison, begins the composition of every song structure based on a specific *palo* before putting flesh to the rhythmic skeleton: "Julián canta una letra flamenca, por bulerías, o por petenera, o por caña, o una debla, o una cosa así…Entonces la estructura ya es flamenca" (Diego "El Kinki) (Julián sings a flamenco lyric *por*

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the lineup and return to the original formula of *cante*, sampler, and bass clarinet.

[201] Chambao is a flamenco-electronic band formed in 2002 in Málaga, Spain. Chambao founded the flamenco chill movement which blends flamenco sounds with ambient electronic music. As Diego mentions, most of their rhythms are based on traditional house and ambient electronic beats. Nevertheless, the band did occasionally experiment with traditional flamenco *palo* structures. Chambao continues to record and perform live throughout Spain and abroad, their most recent release to date being the eponymous album *Chambao* (2012).

[202] *Bulerías* is a fast-paced flamenco *palo* (typically performed at around 240 beats per minute) which was developed in Jerez during the nineteenth century. It was brought back into vogue by Camarón de la Isla, Paco de Lucía, and like-minded flamenco performers from the late 1960s onward. José Manuel Gamboa points to Pastora Pavón´s *Niña de los peines* (1910) as the first album to record the style under that name (Gamboa y Nuñez 77).

bulerías, or *por petenera*, or *por caña*, or a *debla*, or something like that…So the structure is already flamenco).[203]

This tension between how flamenco authenticity is preserved (in this case the voice vs. the *palo*) by recent hybrid innovators is consistent with the entire history of flamenco. The struggle over who can perform authentic flamenco (i.e. gypsies vs. *payos*, professionals vs. amateurs, etc.) and how (i.e. operatic vocals vs. *voz afillá*, authentic *palos* and instrumentation, etc.) dates back to the mid-1800s. The *voz afillá*, for instance, is a mode of flamenco singing first employed by one of the earliest known flamenco performers, El Fillo (b. 1820 in Vila Real; d. 1878 in Seville). His hoarse voice delivered low, worn, and course tones which is still today considered by many flamenco aficionados to be quintessentially *jondo*. The authenticity of El Fillo´s vocal delivery, however, was questioned by the very first famous flamenco singer, El Planeta (b. 1770 in Cádiz; d. 1850 in Seville). El Planeta, who had chosen El Fillo to be his disciple, admonished him regarding his singing voice: "Te digo, *El Fillo*, que esa voz…es crúa y no de recibo; y en cuanto al estilo, ni es fino, ni de la tierra. Así, te pido por favor…que no camines por sus aguas, y te atengas a la pauta antigua, y no salgas un sacramento del camino trillado" (Gamboa y Nuñez 602) (I´m telling you, *El Fillo*, that this voice is

[203] *Petenera* is a slow-paced, melancholic flamenco *palo* which was originally considered to have derived from Sephardi Jewish folk songs due to thematic commonalities found in the lyrics within certain songs from both traditions. However, recent evidence has shown the *palo* to be Mexican in origin (Gamboa y Nuñez 431-432). The *caña* is the first unequivocally flamenco *cante* to be described in print, dating back to 1812. The style is linked by Gamboa and Nuñez with a transition within flamenco performance to a more professional sphere given the extremely challenging technical requirements involved in its vocal execution (Gamboa y Nuñez 113). The *debla* (the Romani word for goddess) is typically sung *a palo seco* (a capella). Its performance is melancholic, melismatic, and rich with lyrical expressions of personal and communal *penas*. The *debla* tends toward communal catharsis, occasionally delving into the historical representation of the persecuted Andalusian Roma as long-suffering yet resilient.

unrefined and unacceptable; and with respect to style, it is neither smooth nor local. So I plead you not to follow this route, but rather that you follow the long-established pattern, and that you do not stray one step from the beaten path). Battles over authentic flamenco expression predate António Mairena´s *cante jondo* revival, Lorca and Manuel de Falla´s 1922 Concurso y Fiesta del Cante Jondo, the invention of the phonograph, and most likely the *café cantante*.[204]

El Ultimo Grito´s live performances are an experimental electronic take on a bygone era of raw and immediate flamenco expression. Demoraga, while performing live, schizophrenically slips in and out of several of his influences. As if in a trance (which is a condition linked to authentic music production and appreciation for flamenco and electronic fans alike), Demoraga screeches like Bambino, then warbles like Marchena, before succumbing to a psychedelic freakout à la Triana. It is messy on every level. The live show is primarily composed of one or more of the following elements: howling, melodic, or stuttered vocals which fluctuate between the operatic and the *voz afillá*; a cacophonous mélange of horns and strings; and samplers/synthesizers approximating a number of *palos*.

El Ultimo Grito's recorded music mirrors the chaotic hybrid genre bending of their indie neoflamenco colleagues in Spain. And yet their live performances further

[204] The *café cantante* represents the first public space hosting flamenco performances. These bars originated in Sevilla and date back to the 1840s. The *café cantante* drastically altered the world of flamenco in that it allowed the general public to experience a flamenco performance. In order to hear a flamenco singer prior to the *café cantante* one would either have had to belong to a close-knit community of performers, hire a flamenco, or luck on to an impromptu street or tavern performance. The *café cantante* began the era of flamenco professionalization since musicians could now make a steady living by touring these establishments.

push this conceptual bedlam by adding another layer of temporal hybridity. The live spectacle is constantly fluctuating between the retro and the futuristic, at times intermingling both at once. The warmth of the traditional call-and-response flamenco framework between the guitar and vocals is replaced here by the operation of Diego´s Ableton Live machines. The rigidity of Diego´s Ableton Live pre-programmed beat samples seems a technological innovation antithetical to the very foundations of flamenco tradition.[205] Yet the futuristic pulse of the machine is always conquered, bent, distorted, and rearticulated by Diego´s manipulations. Whereas Demoraga´s vocal and physical performance fluctuates between Bambino and Iggy Pop, his lyrical compositions

[205] In order to achieve what Clifford Geertz refers to as "thick description" I sent this chapter to the members of El Ultimo Grito to get their thoughts and to let me know if I had misinterpreted or misconstrued any of the information that they provided me during the interview I conductied with them. With respect to my comment on the inherent "rigidity" of the sampler, Diego "El Kinki" replied to me with the following interesting critique and introspection: "me parece curioso a veces oirte hablar de rigidez. Joé, a mi me parece lo contrario, no tiene rigidez ninguna, el ordenador es un meta-instrumento, puede hacer de todos los instrumentos a la vez (los únicos que no consigue obtener un buen resultado, a mi entender, son los vientos...), ya sea imitándolos o sampleándolos, inventar nuevos sonidos, y tiene el poder supremo de juntar todo eso. Claro, la máquina en sí no es expresiva, pero el trozo de madera y metal que es la guitarra tampoco lo es, lo es el tío que la toca. Y lo mismo tiene la máquina, puedes actuar sobre tantos o más parámetros que cualquier instrumentista, en directo un poco menos, pero en estudio muchísimo más. Lo que pasa es que la gente confunde instrumento y música, la música electrónica y su historia es una cosa (y en parte ahí está el problema, hay que reconocer que los que de verdad se metieron en el asunto eran ingenieros de sonido, y no músicos, aunque se llamen Jean-Michel Jarre y hayan currado con Pierre Schaeffer). A ver si me explico, gente con preocupaciones de frecuencias (la trama es el sonido), y no con planteamientos musicales tradicionales (la trama es la melodía, la harmonía y el ritmo)…La electrónica es un instrumento además de ser una música, y al final igual acabamos tocando cosas del Bach con ordenadores, en plan Glenn Gould, para poder controlar a la perfección todos los parámetros ("tu capitulo") (Sometimes I find it funny to hear you talk about rigidity. Fuck, to me it seems the very opposite, it is not rigid at all. The computer is a meta-instrument, you can produce all the instruments at once (the only ones that don´t work, in my opinion, are the woodwinds...), either imitating or sampling them or inventing new sound-- it has the supreme power to gather all of that. Of course, the sampler in and of itself is not expressive, but for that matter neither is the piece of wood and metal that makes up the guitar--it's the guy who plays it. So this is how we should look at the sampler: You can play around with as many or more parameters as any other instrumentalist--live a little less, but in the recording studio a lot more. What happens is that people confuse the instrument with the music, electronic music and its history is one thing (and in part that's the problem, we must recognize that those who really got into [electronic music] were the sound engineers, and not the electronica musicians, even if we are talking about people like Jean-Michel Jarre who worked carefully with Pierre Schaeffer). I am talking about people who concern themselves with frequencies (a focus on sound), and not traditional musical approaches (a focus on melody, harmony, and rhythm). Electronica is an instrument as well as being a music, and when all is said and done we end up playing computerized Bach à la Glenn Gould in order to seamlessly control all parameters).

oscillate between Federico García Lorca and Leonard Cohen. Demoraga seamlessly blends the shared concerns of twenty-first-century Europeans with those explored throughout traditional flamenco lyricism: loneliness, love, nostalgia, heartbreak, loss, and the fleeting, futile existence of mankind. Despite the limitations of the machine, Diego and Julián complement each other when performing live according to an open-form flamenco framework: Songs are neither entirely fixed nor entirely improvised, but rather are based on a pre-established structure in which a series of mutually shared codes allow Diego to rapidly adjust to Julián´s interpretation, which is improvised according to the moment.[206] "Es un poquito como el flamenco…todo el mundo sabe cómo va a ser la letra pero no sabe nada de lo que va a cantar en este momento" (Diego "El Kinki") (It´s kind of like flamenco…everybody knows the lyrics, but nobody knows what will actually be sung in the moment). For El Ultimo Grito, pure representation of the instinctive flamenco spirit trumps finesse: "la sofisticación no es una preocupación primordial" (Demoraga, Re:ULTIMO) (Sophistication is not a primordial concern).

The ubiquitous Spanish music producer Javier Limón best describes this group via an enigmatic jumble of appropriate signs: "Romanticismo trágico asumido. Flamenco vudú" (El Ultimo Grito: Flamenco) (Assumed tragic romanticism. Flamenco voodoo). Demoraga feels a mystical calling to perform this wild electronic flamenco in order to

[206] Open form refers to music that is open ended and can be repeated for as long as the performing participants and situation requires.

reawaken the *duende* that he feels has been long lost in both electronic and flamenco practice:[207]

> La tendencia actual es la de la similitud general: los mismos arreglos, los mismos temas en las canciones, las mismas voces…Pero naturalmente que sí que hay buen flamenco, siempre lo habrá. Duende ¡ay! Duende…Está un poco dormido. Hay que despertarlo, al Duende hay que llamarlo con sangre y carne. El Duende es un misterio que todos sentimos y que nadie puede explicar. El Duende es un poder y no un querer, es una lucha a muerte. El Duende no está en la garganta; el Duende duerme en las entrañas y sube y sube hasta la voz…No es una cuestión de facultad, sino de sangre y carne, de viejísima cultura ancestral y al mismo tiempo de creación en el acto. Es el espíritu de la tierra…Y es necesario tener "un par de cojones" para llamarlo y afrontarlo…Duende hay, lo que no hay son las penas que lo mueven. (Demoraga, Re:ULTIMO)
>
> (The current trend is that of similitude in general: the same arrangements, the same themes in the same songs, the same voices...But of course there exists good flamenco, as there always will. *Duende*, alas! *Duende*...It is a little sleepy. You have to wake it up, the *duende* has to be summoned with blood and flesh. The *duende* is a mystery that we all feel and nobody can explain. The *duende* is a power and not a desire; it is a fight to death. The *duende* doesn´t come from the throat; the *duende* sleeps in the guts and rises and rises up to the voice...It's not a question of ability, but of flesh and blood, of a very ancient culture and, at the same time, an on-the-spot creation. It is the spirit of the earth...And you need to have balls to summon it and cope with it...*Duende* exists, what doesn´t is the misery that drives it.)

[207] Critics of electronic music might say that electronic music could not possibly lose a *duende* that it never had. Electronic music has often been portrayed as a sterile, mechanistic, and cold art form—the very antithesis of *duende* as an expression derived from the depths of the human soul. Yet early endeavors by practitioners of *musique concrète* saw the practice as a mystical, *duende*-like expression. *Musique concrète* appealed to a neurasthenic populace that ached to reconnect on a profound level with that lost inner-most being: "Pierre Henry announced the arrival of a music suitable for the accelerated information flows of the twentieth century. In his *Variations for a Door and a Sigh* (1963), the tape-splicing existential artist uses the microphone as a forensic probe to penetrate the ´doorness´ of a door. Where modernism had spent the first half-century collaging echoes from the past, this was an attempt to grasp enlightenment from the fractured materials of the immediate present, peering closely at what the snipped-up tape loops revealed like a Chinese seer examining the splinters in an ox´s shoulder blade. For Henry, writing in 1950, *musique concrète* meant a humanist descent from the absolute to the material realm: from ´the sacred´ to ´a relationship with cries, laughter, sex, death. Everything that puts us in touch with the cosmic, that is to say, with the living materiality of planets on fire" (R. Young 16). This poetic description of *musique concrète* recalls the metaphysical exploration of the depths of *duende* provided by Lorca in his 1933 lecture, "Juego y teoría del duende" ("Play and Theory of the Duende").

According to Demoraga, the Spanish indie rockers, electronic musicians, and flamencos are unable to beckon the *duende* because they are afraid of the misery it signifies. Demoraga casts the blame for this absent *duende* on the inability of flamenco musicians to invoke it--either because they fear it, or because they cannot feel it. They lack "the misery that drives it." And yet Demoraga also supposes this absence derives from too much present-day agony: "A la gente le dan miedo las penas. No quieren cantar penas porque se sienten que hay tanta pena real…Cuando yo soy feliz no tengo tiempo de escribir canciones felices, estoy viviendo. Cuando uno está triste o tiene pena, siente y siente y escribe" (Demoraga) (People [nowadays] are afraid of *penas*. They don't want to sing sorrow because they already feel enough real pain as it is. When I am happy I don't have time to write happy songs. I am living. When someone is truly down and full of grief, he feels, and he feels, and he writes). Demoraga seems to express conflicting thoughts in the prior two quotes. He states that the misery that drives *duende* no longer exists but also that no one wants to sing sorrow because they already feel enough real pain as it is. So which is it? Is there too much *pena* in contemporary Spanish society or not enough? Perhaps the tragedies experienced by flamenco ancestors no longer need be confronted since modern medicine has produced all kinds of pills that expunge sorrow and erase feeling. This could explain a misery which is felt by all but expressed by none. Was the catharsis achieved by the vocalization of *duende* lost in flamenco tradition because the poets and singers started seeing therapists and consulting pharmacists? Demoraga´s vision of *duende*, *penas*, and the lack thereof in Spanish music today is

expanded below by the post punk, gothic troubadour Nick Cave, citing Lorca, to describe almost all contemporary rock music production:

> Frederico Garcia Lorca attempts to shed some light on the eerie and inexplicable sadness that lives at the heart of certain works of art. ´All that has dark sounds has 'duende',´ he says, ´that mysterious power that everyone feels but no philosopher can explain.´ Contemporary rock music seems less inclined to have at its soul, restless and quivering, the sadness that Lorca talks about. Excitement, often, anger, sometimes - but true sadness, rarely…all in all, it would appear that the duende is too fragile to survive the compulsive modernity of the music industry. In the hysterical technocracy of modern music, sorrow is sent to the back of the class, where it sits, pissing its pants in mortal terror. Duende, needs space to breathe. Melancholy hates haste and floats in silence. I feel sorry for sadness, as we jump all over it, denying its voice and muscling it into the outer reaches. No wonder sorrow doesn't smile much. No wonder sadness is so sad. (Cave 7-8)

Demoraga´s and Cave´s critiques of the contemporary rock music industry as mystical call to arms against modernity may for some readers seem slightly reminiscent of the regressive, mystical and anti-rationalist nostalgia politics of twentieth-century fascism. Nonetheless, as I discuss in Chapter Two, the fundamental difference between these two anti-modern perspectives is the *kind* of nostalgia which they draw on (reflective vs. restorative) which directly relates to the ends of their respective nostalgias.[208] El Ultimo Grito revels in a reflective nostalgia, savoring the details of Andalusian poetic *penas* through the songs they cover: the lost lover´s arms ("Zorongo" by Lorca/Miguel de Molina) and the desperate prayers of a bewitched *gitana* (Juan Legido´s "La virgen de la Macarena"). El Ultimo Grito´s "Crucificaíto yo!" is a poem which delves far deeper into

[208] "Restorative nostalgia stresses *nostos* and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home. Reflective nostalgia thrives in *algia*, the longing itself, and delays the homecoming—wistfully, ironically, desperately. Restorative nostalgia does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition. Reflective nostalgia dwells on the ambivalences of human longing and belonging and does not shy away from the contradictions of modernity. Restorative nostalgia protects the absolute truth, while reflective nostalgia calls it into doubt" (Boym xviii). See Chapter Two for more on how the restorative nostalgia of authoritarian regimes differs from the reflective nostalgia of indie music practitioners.

a reflective nostalgia of the sacred than Nuñez´s "La virgin." The poet seems almost delighted to embody Christ´s suffering as he explores the minutiae of misery on Calvary. Demoraga´s lament should not be misconstrued as fervent charismatic religiosity. It is as ironic as it is sincere.[209] It is as blasphemous as it is spiritual:

Me llaman el mal nacio	They call me the bastard
por ser hijo de una puta…	for being born to a whore…
Crucificaíto yo, crucificaíto yo.	Crucified me, crucified me.
A la vista estoy de tos este soy yo,	I am viewed by all, I am he,
el hijo del poderoso,	the son of the powerful one,
y sin posible redención,	and without possible redemption,
crucificaíto yo, crucificaíto yo.	crucified me, crucified me.
(Demoraga)	

"Crucificaíto yo!" is diametrically opposed to restorative nostalgia in its very negation of redemption--a redemption, in this case, which is the foundation of Christian theology. The Franco regime would reference these same icons (the Madonna, the crucified Christ) in official ceremonies to reinforce the notion of Spain as exclusively Catholic while consistently linking the origins of the regime´s power to divine intervention. For Franco, the mystical body of Spain was analogous to the Mystical Body of the Church" (Payne 58). These religious symbols that populated the arts, processions, and propaganda pamphlets under Franco, however, were not invoked to be "interpreted" but accepted. They pointed to an absolute truth which linked the right-wing authoritarian dictatorship to Saint Isidore of Seville, to the knights of Reconquest Spain, to Ferdinand and Isabel. Franco´s restorative nostalgia was the redemption of national Catholic values in the face

[209] My interpretation of the performance of this song is that it is a sincere attempt to voice the *penas* of the martyr through a lyric and embodiment marked by a mix of irony and persecution complex.

of embedded atheist, communist, and anarchist saboteurs--the homecoming of the *yugo* and *flecha*.[210]

Demoraga, like Nick Cave, explicitly aims to perform the reflective nostalgic sentiment underlying the kind of *duende* evoked in Lorca´s poetry: *Poema del cante jondo* (1921), *Canciones* (1927), and *Primeras canciones* (1936). Unlike their critiques above, the lyricism of Cave and Demoraga is not anti-modern but rather seeks to explore the complexity of emotions that has been extricated from much mainstream pop music. They focus on the *penas* of modernity which others are perhaps unable or afraid to express. Live, Demoraga and El Ultimo Grito invoke the *duende* spirit, exhorting reconnection with the emotional extremities many of us lost in the digital age: joy and sorrow, love and hate, fear and peace. They are not luddites. Nor do they hold notions of some triumphant return to Reconquest Spain. They do, however, wish to reflect on what has been sacrificed in Spain´s pursuit for modernity.

El Ultimo Grito´s song "Iglesia abandonada" ("Abandoned Church") combines several different flamenco *palos* in its weaving of a tapestry lament for the abandoned *duende* soul of the flamenco of yore: The first verse is set to *bulerías*, the second to a

[210] Saint Isidore was a seventh-century Archbishop of Seville and renowned scholar who converted the Visigothic Arian nobility to Catholicism, thus establishing the first peninsular Christian rule. Reconquest Spain refers to a period of time beginning in 722 a.d. with the Christian victory over Moorish invaders in Covadonga, Asturias and ending in 1492 with the fall of Granada (the last bastion of Muslim rule in Spain) in 1492. 1492 coincides with several key events in Spanish history: The publication of António de Nebrija´s *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, consolidating Castilian´s place as the official national language; Christopher Columbus´s voyage to the New World; the construction of a bureaucratic network linking the monarchy with its aristocratic representatives nationwide; the expulsion of all Jews who would not convert to Christianity from Spain. It was a period of time in which the Spanish nation finally achieved self-definition according to what it believed (Catholicism), what it spoke (Castilian), and what its goals were (conquest and consolidation). As such, 1492 and los reyes católicos (Ferdinand and Isabel) served as a lightning rod for the Spanish fascist party, the Falange whose symbol was the yoke (the *yugo* associated with Queen Isabel) and the arrows (the *flechas* associated with King Ferdinand).

hybrid Arabic-Andalusian pattern, the third to the flamenco *tangos palo*. The reverence paid by El Ultimo Grito to the patrimony of traditional flamenco is referenced in its titular metaphor as church. The loss of this flamenco church, deserted by the once faithful Spanish souls, is alluded to in the titular adjective *abandonada*. Demoraga sings of its downfall and redemption:

Perseguiré, perseguiré…	I will pursue, I will pursue…
Los rastros deste afán,	The traces of this desire,
como busca el agua a la sed,	as water searches for thirst,
como busca el rio a la mar,	as the river seeks the sea,
la estela de tu perfume.	the trail of your scent.
Yo tenía,	I used to have,
yo tenía un alma.	I used to have a soul.
Yo tenía,	I used to have,
yo tenía un cuerpo…	I used to have a body…
Yo tenía,	I used to have,
yo tenía un sueño.	I used to have a dream.
Yo tenía,	I used to have,
yo tenía todo.	I used to have everything.
Yo tenía,	I used to have,
y ya no lo tengo.	but no longer.
Yo tenía,	I used to have,
yo tenía un alma…	I used to have a soul…
Y ya no lo tengo.	But no longer.
¿Regresarás? ¡No sé!	Will you return? I don´t know!
Me atravesó tu suave vendaval.	Your soft gale pierced me.
Rumbo a tu recuerdo seguí,	I followed the path of your memory,
la senda de tu perfume.	the trail of your scent.
No hay soledad	There is no solitude
que aguante el turbión,	able to withstand the flood,
el impulso antiguo y sutil,	the ancient and subtle impulse
del eco de tu perfume…	of the echo of your perfume…
(Varela-Demoraga)[211]	

[211] The title "Iglesia abandonada" is a reference to a Lorca poem by the same title from *Poeta en Nueva York* (published posthumously in 1940). The majority of the lyrics to "Iglesia abandonada" are borrowed from the song "Perfume," composed by the Argentine/Uruguayan electronic neotango band Bajofondo Tango Club. El Ultimo Grito changes the tone and code of the Bajofondo song by adding the chorus (which references the sentiment of loss and mourning that predominate the Lorca poem) and altering two

The first verse of "Iglesia abandonada" begins with piano, synthesizers, sporadic cymbals, and *palmas*. The lyrics represent El Ultimo Grito's quest for an elusive and always already absent flamenco purity and index the mirror reflection of the hunt, inverting the scent of the flamenco trail with the trail of the flamenco scent--as if flamenco were like Hansel and Gretel, leaving a trail of pebbles to find the way home, and Demoraga the bloodhound, following the stones to speed up the process. A melancholic tenor is then introduced via the contrapuntal texture of several hybrid Arabic-Andalusian music symbols, especially with respect to percussive elements such as the *darbuka*, interspersed with off-beat *palmas* and pounding rhythmic synthesizers.[212] This musical shift signals a change in tone from hopeful chase to weepy nostalgia, a nostalgia for all that flamenco has lost: the soul, the body, the dream…everything. The musical and lyrical transition is further underscored by a change in the locus of enunciation. The following lyrics come from the perspective of flamenco incarnate. The third stanza is punctuated by yet another change which returns to the instrumentation used in the beginning of the song set to a *tangos* (instead of *bulerías*) *palo*. The lyrics also bring us back into the perspective of the protagonist tracking flamenco, instead of

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verses. Whereas the Bajofondo lyrics describe an optimistic first-person epistle directed at a lost lover, the chorus added by Varela-Demoraga evokes a more pessimistic and introspective monologue lamenting the loss not of a lover, but of everything. The certainty of the lover´s return in "Perfume" is expressed in the affirmative verse "Regresarás" (Supervielle). El Ultimo Grito transforms this verse into a doubtful one by changing the statement into a question followed by an emphatic expression of uncertainty: "¿Regresarás? No se!" El Ultimo Grito replaces Bajofondo´s *envión* (meaning push, shove, or jolt) with turbión. The reference to a flood reinforces the religious undertones implied in the song title while recoding the effect of the echo of the protagonist´s perfume. Whereas a shove implies an individual recipient, a flood affects an entire community. The solitude that is unable to withstand the flood, then, must be a communal solitude. I interpret this communal solitude not as a reference to a community isolated from other communities, but as a community of isolated individuals.

[212] This particular synth sound often serves to index medieval Andalusi music. Oddly enough, the same sound is used by nineties-era metal bands to synthetically mimic a brass orchestral arrangement.

flamenco itself. Demoraga as hunter finally realizes that his efforts are futile. Flamenco will return regardless of his endeavors. Those souls who had once gone astray—those who had lost touch with the mystical *duende* dwelling within--will be brought back into the fold in time.

Demoraga is not seeking to restore the soul, the body, and the dream of some mythical Spanish past. He instead laments the loss of flamenco´s aesthetic, cathartic and political potential: The early twentieth-century flamenco expression of *penas* was itself at times indirectly political.[213] William Washabaugh dedicates the first chapter of his study *Flamenco: Passion, Politics, and Popular Culture* (1996) to untangling the "hidden transcripts" in flamenco performance. He conjectures that many of these transcripts are indeed hidden from the performers themselves since they are ingrained in a flamenco body politics that is often learned by the muscles but never questioned by the mind. Washabaugh presents seven musical metonyms in flamenco whereby the "bodies inadvertently do politics while enjoying music": *Nacionalismo*, *Romanticismo*, *Fatalismo*, *Modernismo*, *Franquismo*, *Andalucismo*, and *Gitanismo* (7-16).[214]

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[213] The following *soleá,* selected and translated by Will Kirkland for *Gypsy Cante: Deep Song of the Caves (*1999), is one example in which the flamenco *cante* openly expresses an anti-capitalist political position: "A nadie pido favores/ porque sé que cuestan caros,/ me aguanto con mis dolores,/ no pongo rico al avaro" (73) (I don´t ask anyone for favors/ I know they cost too much,/ I put up with all my troubles,/ so I don´t make the greedy rich). Interestingly, the lyricist here expresses his *penas* by stating that he is not able to express his *penas*.

[214] *Nacionalismo* can be observed in the early nineteenth-century bawdy street flamenco performances which "served as a symbol for regionalists… who were eager to locate sources of their distinctive social identity…From that time to the present, the raw and percussive sounds of flamenco have been celebrated as symbols of Andalusian allegiance" (107-108). *Romanticismo* references the post-Napoleonic, European intellectual celebration of Andalusian vitality "as a precocious form of poetic spontaneity and liberal individualism" (11). *Fatalismo* in flamenco and religious practice derives origins from a long history of Spanish economic inequality. It is a maudlin display of penitence to relieve the emotional burdens of rich and poor alike: the rich to expiate guilt, the poor to express frustration with poverty and oppression. *Modernismo* as flamenco metonym derives its origins from the Spanish intellectual introspection following

Washabaugh illustrates the various "interpellations" of these metonyms by flamenco performers through four specific musical characteristics: "orientalization," "synchronization," "dys-appearance," and "recording" (16). I will focus on the first three characteristics as each is employed by El Ultimo Grito during their live improvised performances:

> The term 'orientalization' refers to practices that assimilate flamenco music to a Moorish model by using traditional rhythms of North Africa, by playing North African variants of musical modes, by using Moorish instruments, such as the *'ud*, by emphasizing quarter tones and melismas, or, most remarkably, by singing *coplas* in the Arabic language…'Synchronization' refers to the coordination of behaviors of improvising artists…'Dys-appearance' is the term used by Drew Leder (1990) to refer to the behavior of bodies-in-pain, specifically to their withdrawal from outgoing practice as they turn reflexively inward. (16-19)[215]

El Ultimo Grito drift in and out of "orientalization" in "Iglesia abadonada" by incorporating Arabic-Andalusian instruments and rhythms into the chorus (which is their primary addition to the Bajofondo Tango Club composition). The reference to Arabic Andalusia also serves to distinguish El Ultimo Grito´s nostalgia of the national past from that underlying Falange or Francoist ideology which attempted to suppress or erase all elements of the national imaginary derived from Muslim cultural contributions.

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the humiliating culmination of failed empire—the 1898 Spanish-American war. The Spanish Modernists Manuel de Falla and Federico García Lorca attempted to redeem flamenco by celebrating the redemptive power of *cante jondo duende* as a uniquely vital expression of the noble suffering of the *gitano* as eternally marginalized. *Franquismo* refers to the Franco regime´s co-optation of flamenco practice (aka *nacional-flamenquismo*) as part of the dictator´s program of cultural autarky. *Andalucismo* was a twentieth-century resurgence of Andalusian regionalism which commemorates this region´s flourishing hybrid cultural production during the pre-1492 era of Christian, Jewish, *Gitano*, and Moorish conviviality. Finally, *Gitanismo* is in reference to the "*Gitano* Power" movement of the 1950s and 1960s which "promoted the appreciation and betterment of a distinctly Gitano ethnic group [and] aesthetic primarily rooted in flamenco music" (10-16). See Chapter Six for further discussion of Washabaugh´s concept of flamenco´s body politics with respect to the female flamenco performer.

[215] Washabaugh rightly qualifies "synchronization" as common to many varieties of *Gitano* as well as *payo* flamenco performance, arguing that its "political force is retrospectively defined in the light of a variety of community-oriented agendas such as *andalucismo* and *nacionalismo*, as well as *gitanismo*" (19).

"Synchronization" and "dys-appearance" are fundamental aspects of every El Ultimo Grito live improvisation as I have described above. Nevertheless, Diego and Demoraga´s particular breed of "synchronization" is one intermediated by the machine. The sense of communitas meant to be invoked by this interpellation of musical metonymies linking the aesthetics of "*Gitano* Power" (*gitanismo*) with Andalusian regional allegiance (*andalucismo*) through voice, guitar, *palmas*, and/or *zapateo* is fractured a bit by the spatiotemporally foreign sampler. Demoraga's live "dys-appearance," given his eccentric nature and experimental approach to flamenco tradition, fits closely with Washabaugh's description of "an embodiment of resistance to communal power, specifically, a resistance to oppressive social constraints" (20). Yet it occasionally manifests itself as more a theatrical spiritual possession à la Screamin' Jay Hawkins than the kind of self-absorbed lamentation seen in traditional flamenco "dys-appearance." There are elements of these inadvertent embodied politics through musical metonymy in the live performance of El Ultimo Grito, but they also seem to be intentionally subverted. I asked Demoraga how exactly the political fits into the music of El Ultimo Grito:

> Cuando hablas de la homosexualidad, cuando hablas de las ratas, cuando hablas de la gente que sufre, naturalmente es político. Cantar en poesía es ya un acto político. La poesía en flamenco que a mí me gustaría hacer, si intentamos hacerlo, es la poesía como una bala en plena cabeza…No me interesa mucho que la gente se sienta enamorada con la canción, o que baile, yo quiero que lo mate. (Demoraga)
>
> (When you talk about homosexuality, when you talk about the rats, when you talk about people suffering, naturally it is political. Singing in poetry is in itself a political act. The kind of flamenco poetry that I would like to do, when we do try to do it, is poetry like a bullet in the head…I don´t care that much if people fall in love with the song, or that they dance to it, I want it to kill them.)

The singer admits to a political content in El Ultimo Grito´s compositions, but emphasizes the ends of his poetry with far more conviction than the means. Demoraga embodies some of the politically charged musical metonyms identified by Washabaugh, but also subverts, or at least mutates their signification in the process. Is there political method to this poetic madness? Or is it just absence?: One last scream, devoid of semiotic, but stentorian in its production. Perhaps with this final shout Demoraga seeks to awaken the *duende* not just for flamenco fans or Andalusians but for all Spaniards.

Demoraga reflects nostalgically on the lost days of *duende*, considering the disintegration of *duende´s* unifying potential as a symptom of larger national ills. The isolation alluded to in the final half of the third stanza of "Iglesia abandonada" draws a temporal dichotomy between the communal spirit brought by the lost traditional flamenco culture and the *soledad* experienced by the individualistic mentality of present-day Spanish society. With the vast amount of downloadable entertainment, made increasingly available by every incremental upgrade in the speed of internet connectivity, who needs to ever leave the house? With ever more rapid-fire communication potential, provided via every new iPhone upgrade, why converse with a friend while carousing Malasaña when you can post on Facebook that you are conversing with a friend while carousing Malasaña? With the infinite, labyrinthine, virtual world of online gaming, supplied by each fascinating new iPhone Sims app, why revisit a painful past (or ponder the austere present) when you can construct an extravagant present and an exhilarating future? Demoraga has no desire for Spain to return to Franco-era isolationist cultural

autarky. What El Ultimo Grito is calling for is merely metaphysical—a Spanish return to the imagined communion of the *duende*.

Technology can isolate, but it can also efficiently unify. The exponential growth of the nation-wide youth protest movement, beginning on May 15th, 2011, led by Los Indignados (The Indignant Ones) would be hard to imagine without the aid of rapid communication provided by social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter.[216] The ability for closely connected communal circles to quickly correspond with each other has been available for some time now. The universal acceptance of Facebook and Twitter, as *the* de facto modes of youth communication, has just expanded this intimate network to extend throughout the entirety of nearly every imagined community. The national imagined community is, itself, beginning to lose meaning as social networks progressively erode preconceived boundaries of any inherently shared national identity. Nostalgia, then, for Demoraga, functions not as a means to destroy the global communal connections that technology has made possible, but to reinforce the local communal connections through *pena* and *duende*, with all of the aesthetic and political weight that these two terms historically imply.

In "Iglesia abandonada," Demoraga reminds his Spanish audience to be aware of the *penas* of yore and to beware the *penas* yet to come: "yo tenía un sueño…yo tenía todo…y ya no lo tengo." With over half of Spanish youths under the age of 25

[216] Likewise, the September 25th, 2012 call to occupy the Madrid Parliament (el Congreso de los Diputados) by forming a human-chain around it was an idea gone viral via Facebook. The fairly aggressive retaliation on the part of Madrid´s metropolitan police force in response to the antagonistic tactics of a handful of protesters has been recorded in high definition from a variety of angles thanks to the ubiquitous iPhone and its camera´s high-speed recording capacity.

unemployed, Spain is undoubtedly experiencing widespread *pena* now (Allen 4). What Demoraga believes it lacks is the pure flamenco expression--the cathartic *quejío*--with which to address them. The flamenco church of infinite *penas* has been abandoned. The *duende* is dead. The flock has dispersed in pursuit of individualistic material pleasures. All is lost…but not for long. Flamenco purity will be restored. A purity--lest we forget--called for by an avant-garde, experimental, indie electronic neoflamenco band based out of Paris.

All of the indie electronic urban neofolk groups analyzed above struggle with many of the same issues of the bands included in the prior chapter: rites of exit, innovation, hybrid authenticity, efficient DIY production, etc. None of the aforementioned bands are immune to the indie cultural rot that undermines the scene today: the pitchforkization of the musical palette, conspicuous cultural consumption, and subcultural stillbirth.[217] The following chapter builds on some of the issues which make up the focus of the preceding case studies while exposing further the position of the nation-state with respect to neofado and neoflamenco cultural production. What are the roles and responsibilities of local, regional, or national Iberian governmental agencies or corporations toward promoting local knowledge and talent in the twenty-first century? What kind of legislation has inhibited or, alternatively, promoted the livelihood of these musicians? Most importantly, how are neofado and neoflamenco bands addressing the most important issues of the era: local identity vs. European Union cultural consolidation,

[217] See the introduction for more information on these challenges to present-day indie music production.

sustainable, locally based capitalism vs. free market globalization, indie street culture vs. urban gentrification, and free culture vs. intellectual property rights?

Chapter Five
Local Knowledge, Sustainable Capitalism, Free Culture

Table 5
OqueStrada and Canteca de Macao: Members, Dates, Places, Albums, Sub-Genres, and Influences

Band Name (Location, Year Formed)	Members (Instruments)	Albums (Label, Year Published)	Sub-Genres	Primary Influences
OqueStrada (Almada, Portugal 2002)	Marta Miranda (vocals), João Lima (Portuguese guitar), Zeto Feijão (guitar, vocals), J-Marc Dercle (aka Pablo, contra-bacía), Rui Sá (trumpet), and Donatello Brida (accordion)	*O'queStrada EP* (self-released, 2007), *Tasca Beat* (JARO/Sony BMG Portugal, 2009)	Fado Dos Subúrbios, New Wave, Kuduro, Funaná, Hip Hop, Musical Theater, Reggae, Breakbeat, Tango, Chanson, Morna, Flamenco, Ska	Hermínia Silva, Bulimundo, Édith Piaf, The Chemical Brothers, Cesária Évora, Billy Idol, Ástor Piazzolla, Madness
Canteca de Macao (Madrid, 2005)	Ana Saboya (vocals), Álvaro Melgar (aka Azelga--guitar), Isidoro Lora-Tamayo (aka Chiki—vocals, guitar), Danilo Montoya, Guillermo Martínez Yusta (drums), Juan Tomás Martínez París (aka Juancho—vocals, percussion), Rodrigo Ulises Díaz (aka El Niño—vocals, percussion), Manuel Pablo Sanz (aka Manu--bass), Enrique Rodríguez Paredes (aka Enriquito--trumpet), Javier Rodríguez de Zuloaga (aka Zulo--juggling)	*Cachai* (self-released in 2005; reedited in 2008 by DRO/Warner Music Spain), *Camino de la vida entera* (Warner Music Spain, 2007), *Agua pa'la Tierra* (Warner Music Spain, 2009), *Nunca es tarde* (self-released, 2011)	Flamenco, Ska, Salsa, Gypsy Punk, Indie Pop, Reggae	Pata Negra, Lole y Manuel, Extremoduro, Chicharrika, Piperrak, Reincidentes

How can a national, regional, or municipal government work with a local indie band in a way that would benefit both parties? The first section of this chapter ties together the interests of Iberian municipal governments and local corporations with those of Iberian indie urban neofolk musicians due to their shared interest in reproducing a

lively local culture. A vibrant local cultural industry is an attraction that benefits corporations which are based in the Iberian capitals and are interested in recruiting skilled national and international workers. I consider this topic, one of utmost importance for the musicians I interviewed, via the lens of an Iberian urban artistic push toward locally oriented sustainable capitalism. Adopting the research of Elizabeth Currid, specifically her study on what she terms "The Warhol Economy," I consider the benefits of Spanish and Portuguese government assistance for the kind of self-perpetuating and (so far) primarily autonomous art scene that is emerging in the urban spaces of Lisbon and Madrid. As was the case in the early eighties New York City art scene that Currid describes, there exists in both Iberian capitals a certain long-held tension between local politician and underground artist. These groups have voiced their disenchantment with government apathy toward their important cultural contribution, and yet are simultaneously hesitant to readily trust such local and national political powers to help them. In turn, these municipal politicians may, rightfully, ask: "why should we feed the mouths that bite us?"

OqueStrada´s interest in sustainable capitalism rooted in locally based consumption is studied with respect to traditional anti-corporate indie values. OqueStrada supports locally owned merchants in word and deed, calling for a return to an urban community with a face. OqueStrada wants its fans to realize that, in the current global economy dominated by multinationals like McDonald´s, Coca-Cola, and Sony, their Euro is their vote: Every purchase is not just an economic decision, but a political and cultural one as well since the presence of a McDonald´s in the local economy

necessarily displaces the local café or *cervejaria*. OqueStrada´s encouragement of sustainable capitalism celebrates the Lisbon mom-and-pop companies in which owners mingle with their customers on a daily basis. This is precisely the kind of autonomous, self-supportive community from which the indie scene itself was born. The hybrid nature of the Iberian indie urban neofolk band is thus inherently doubly engaged with such a community in that their roots are firmly grounded in indie politics as they simultaneously push for a revaluation of local and communal culture via a revival of flamenco and fado.

The following section of this chapter focuses on the Madrid-based neoflamenco band Canteca de Macao and their struggle to maintain the vibrant urban street culture from which the band originated. Several *madrileño* musicians, confronted with a lack of opportunity to perform in legitimate legal spaces, have taken their creations to the streets, providing a kind of live cultural black market for passersby. Sometimes the informal performance space of the street is the only economically feasible route for a startup indie urban neofolk group. This too is policed to a certain degree in Iberian urban spaces, often leaving potential street performers with no outlet for their creation. Recent legislative efforts in Madrid have targeted all street musicians via noise ordinance laws that prohibit live music performances in certain neighborhoods. I analyze Canteca de Macao´s subversive confrontation with such measures as a case study which highlights the indie neoflamenco position on a polemical debate that pits entire urban communities against each other, whether the common denominator be merely geographical coincidence

(residents of the Chueca neighborhood) or affinity association (the LGBT or the *perroflauta* community).[218]

Another issue that represents a preoccupation for all the bands involved in this book--the pressing matter of intellectual property rights in an era of rapid information exchange--is seen here via the various perspectives of a spectrum of Iberian urban neofolk groups. The twenty-first-century phenomenon of internet piracy is by no means solely an Iberian problem, but Spain has indeed been a major reference point for the considerations of policing cyber crimes committed by citizens of industrialized countries. Any consideration of present-day music production in Spain must take into account the way the persistence of widespread piracy affects the individual composer and performer. The traditional alliance between indie bands and their fans, along with the indie´s long-standing antagonistic relationship with the dominant major label industry means that the perceived authenticity of any Spanish indie band is directly related to said band´s position with respect to piracy vs. free culture. This issue is specifically important for indie neoflamenco bands given flamenco´s popular music ontology. Flamenco authenticity has origins in a troubadour (free) cultural production that dates back to the early nineteenth century. The historically communal and co-operative nature of the gypsy culture from which this music originated is yet another way in which indie neoflamenco is linked to

[218] *Perroflauta* (sometimes considered a derogatory term), literally translated as dogflute, is used to denote a person, or group of persons, who primarily live in the streets or as squatters in abandoned buildings. *Perroflautas* often make their living by performing street music in exchange for donations by the occasional passerby. In the United States, a similar character would be known as a gutter punk. In Spain, they are referred to as *perroflautas* due to the general perception that at least one member of the group has a dog and/or plays the flute.

free culture. Thus, the contemporary indie neoflamenco band is quadruple-tied to a position promoting free culture.

On a more micro level, the preoccupation for many of the bands studied in this chapter is the matter of balancing inherent indie notions of authenticity with the need to earn a living. The free digital download of a band´s new album is now somewhat commonplace and has blurred the Warholian establishment of art as commodity. But where does that leave the present-day musician? Many of these bands are engaged in a battle to free cultural production from the chains of recently imposed intellectual property rights--rights that are meant to protect their *own* creative labor from theft.

Appadurai´s Local Knowledge, Hebdige´s Subcultures, and Currid´s Warhol Economy

What are the responsibilities of municipal governments, non-governmental organizations, and companies toward fomenting and sustaining a sense of locality in contemporary urban life? What is the role of the Iberian band or solo musician toward the maintenance of a local identity within these imagined communities via the production and reproduction of local knowledge? How do these various actors interact and support each other for the mutual benefit of both as well as that of the local community as a whole?

> Local knowledge is substantially about producing reliably local neighborhoods within which such subjects can be recognized and organized…local knowledge is not only local in itself but, even more important, for itself…The long-term reproduction of a neighborhood that is simultaneously practical, valued, and taken-for-granted depends on the seamless interaction of localized spaces and

> times with local subjects possessed of the knowledge to reproduce locality. (Appadurai 181)

Local knowledge is specifically relevant for the bands included in this book since they actively promote it in a particular way. These hybrid musicians mix local folk traditions with foreign influences in order to pass on a certain kind of local knowledge that other Iberian bands are either unaware of or indifferent to. The flow with which locality is produced and reproduced by the bands included in this study often involves all of Appadurai's scapes (ethnoscapes, technoscapes, financescapes, ideoscapes, and mediascapes).[219] These scapes represent the five interconnected factors that contribute to the global exchange of ideas and information today. Appadurai's concept of the flow of local knowledge shows a multifaceted struggle of various forces in which the Other within Benedict Anderson's imagined communities of neighborhoods, cities, and nations (as well as throughout the international network as a whole) is fought and incorporated on a daily basis. We will see later on in this chapter how a band like OqueStrada incorporates the neighborhood Other (i.e. the PALOP or Eastern European immigrant) into its hybrid cultural project while battling against a far more powerful global Other (the multinational corporation and the often hegemonic cultural effect it brings with it). OqueStrada's battleground is fought within all of Appadurai's scapes. A national and international Other for many neoflamenco bands and fans can be represented via the public and private actors (the national government, the SGAE, and international major

[219] See the introduction for more information on Appadurai's scapes. Briefly, the term ethnoscape refers to the migration of people across cultures and borders, presenting the world and its many communities as fluid and mobile instead of static. Technoscapes bring about new types of cultural interactions and exchanges through the power of technology, happening now at unprecedented speeds. Financescapes represent the mysterious and rapid flow of global capital. Ideoscapes and mediascapes deal with the local, national and international creation and dissemination of information and images (Appadurai 33-36).

record labels) battling them over media piracy legislation and licensing issues.[220] These are forces that vie for control of the flow of cultural products (as well as their inherent cultural, symbolic, and, above all, economic capital) within Appadurai's *ideo*-, *techno*- and *mediascapes*.

The reproduction of local knowledge and maintenance of locality is of great concern to many of the actors involved in the creation and consumption of contemporary Iberian urban art, but it is constantly challenged by the forces of the creeping cultural hegemony of the (often) Anglophone Other. With respect to most of the local indie and electronic music scenes of Lisbon and Madrid, we see a continual loss of local knowledge as supply of and demand for internationally famous buzz bands and DJs supersedes and undermines local talent. Where to lay the blame? Each actor in the equation has an agenda that normally conflicts with the interests of those who would promote local knowledge: The fan accrues cultural capital by consuming and openly disseminating the international hot act *du jour*. The record store where he or she shops must maintain a far greater level of cultural capital by offering not only the newest release of said band, but those of several other related and more obscure bands. Far more important to the owners of the local record store, this superior cultural capital equates to economic capital. The local subsidiary of the international independent and major record label functions likewise. The concert promoters and festival organizers connected to these labels spend the majority of their time promoting the more lucrative, touring

[220] The SGAE is an acronym for the Sociedad General de Autores y Editores (Society of Authors and Publishers).

international acts at the expense of local shows.[221] The local band that plays these shows to a diminishing audience must be aware of cutting edge international generic movements so that they are not perceived as out-of-touch with contemporary global indie/electronica. Here again cultural capital is connected to economic as well as symbolic capital. The locally based multinational corporation is necessarily concerned with constantly increasing shareholder returns. However, as we see in the case of FNAC in Madrid and Lisbon, said company can still act to support the local musician while simultaneously enjoying substantial financial returns. The municipal government which maintains all the overarching structures that allow this cultural, symbolic, and economic capital to flow must consider its budgetary restrictions as well as the promotion of local knowledge when contemplating which arts it should support.

With respect to Appadurai´s ideoscapes, one of the primary issues raised by many of the musicians I interviewed is the lack of governmental or institutional financial assistance for the kind of art they are producing. These musicians are producing a hybrid cultural product that, interestingly enough, aligns perfectly with the interests and discourses of a traditionalist, nationalist agenda while, simultaneously, often challenging outright a backward, inefficient, ineffective, or even corrupt use of state power and local economic capital. Cultural organizations such as the Gulbenkian and the Instituto Camões in Portugal, or the Cervantes Institute in Spain would naturally have little interest in supporting indie bands that are just mimicking an Anglo-centric international indie sound. But why wouldn´t such an institution jump at the opportunity to promote local

[221] See Chapter Four for a more detailed analysis of the effect of a saturation of buzz band tours on the live local music scene.

knowledge and national culture within its borders, as well as abroad, via a self-made startup neofado or neoflamenco band? Why wouldn´t the local or national government? This question becomes especially pertinent in the context of recent economic crises in both Spain and Portugal. A major preoccupation of both Iberian governments and citizens ever since Portugal and Spain's integration into the European Economic Community (EEC), in 1986, was to not lose sight of the distinctiveness of their respective national cultures. The issue becomes all the more relevant due to the most recent threats to Iberian sovereignty arriving in the guise of externally imposed austerity packages. Promoting national culture is no longer just an issue of self-definition within the abstract notion of dual citizenship. It is increasingly a core economic concern that is intricately intertwined with supranational hegemony. Under future International Monetary Foundation (IMF) restrictions, will there be money available for Iberian governments to fund even the kind of national culture-promotion programs that were traditionally rubber-stamped (i.e. the applications for flamenco and fado to be considered for UNESCO´s list of World´s Intangible Cultural Heritage)?[222] The bands involved in this study have, over the last decade, seen little to no financial support from such public or private institutions. The movements that many of these bands have started or promoted celebrate select aspects of national identity (Andalusian and Lisbon-area cultural history) while forming part of a larger Iberian-wide opposition to the compromised (by the IMF and European Union) Spanish and Portuguese state powers that, wary of international financial market

[222] Fado music was most recently added to this list on November 27th, 2011 after months of costly preparation and labor through a dedicated group of intellectuals, musicians, and government officials led by the esteemed fado scholar, Dr. Rui Vieira Nery. Flamenco was added to UNESCO´s list just over a year prior on November 16th, 2010.

backlash, have slashed social spending over 2011-2013. Keynesian economists posit that such austerity measures in the midst of a recession are extremely regressive and are very likely the cause of recent GDP shrinkage in both countries.[223] The musician therefore is cut two ways:

> 1) The musician receives the brunt of the reduction in government spending (since government funding of the arts is one of the first cuts suggested by IMF economic advisors).
>
> 2) The shrinking economy due to such austerity measures necessarily means a smaller, poorer, national fan base.

Regardless of how much a Portuguese fan may like the band OqueStrada, for example, can said fan really justify spending ten Euros on an hour long neofado show? Indie urban neofolk bands like OqueStrada at times perform the work of the historian, the sociologist, the museum curator, the cultural anthropologist, and the schoolteacher. And yet, in the eyes of local and national government officials, OqueStrada is, likewise, an expense these governments can ill-afford to support financially.

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[223] Keynesian economics represents the group of macroeconomic schools of thought based on the ideas of twentieth-century economist John Maynard Keynes. The ideological counterpart for Keynesian economists, those following the Austrian school (most commonly associated with the models developed and espoused by Friedrich Hayek), currently argue that Europe as a whole is in dire straits because it can no longer afford its long tradition of overly generous social spending. A drastic and sustained fiscal austerity, for the Austrian school, is the only possible savior for several European governments who can no longer, in many cases, even service their current (2011-2013) debt load without the assistance of the IMF and the European Central Bank (ECB). These economists posit that countries like Portugal and Spain would be able to roll over their debt by borrowing at lower interest rates if, and only if, the international lending community is satisfied with the current and prospective level of risk inherent in the issue of new treasury bonds. Thus, if Spain, for instance, is unable to reign in national and regional spending relative to its GDP, the bond markets will naturally react negatively.

In the following section I investigate the struggle for bands like OqueStrada and Canteca de Macao to create music that incorporates national traditions in an atmosphere of increased competition, with little to no economic help from the kind of local and national institutions that benefit from their cultural contribution. On the whole there is a striking pessimism amongst these musicians of ever receiving the kind of backing that could assist their important cultural contributions as the next generation of torchbearers of Iberian urban folk music for a new generation of national citizens.

One hope seemed to emerge within a sea of Spanish and Portuguese corporate and government indifference--FNAC.[224] I mentioned FNAC in a question posed to many neofado and neoflamenco musicians due to the fact that this corporation seems to be one of the only private institutions to actively support local bands in Spain and Portugal. During my time in Portugal, FNAC´s Ao Vivo (live) series was an invaluable source of free live music. The company continues to sponsor and host a vast variety of musical acts, ranging from traditional fado performers like Camané to very non-traditional neofado bands like OqueStrada. In addition to its Ao Vivo series, which hosts live performances by local bands at nearly every one of its Portuguese locations several times daily, FNAC provides funding and promotion for several other areas of the Portuguese arts. Many of the musicians that perform at FNAC receive compensation for their in-store performances. All of the invited musical groups receive free promotion through

[224] FNAC is a French-based entertainment retail chain offering cultural and electronic products founded in 1954 by André Essel and Max Théret . The American equivalent would be a discount retailer such as Target or Wal-Mart, but it more closely resembles (in layout, service, aesthetics, pricing, and product offerings) something akin to a blend of Best Buy and Border´s. It´s major competitor in both Spain and Portugal is the Spanish-based El Corte Inglés which, founded in 1934 by Ramón Areces, is the biggest department store group in Europe.

FNAC´s website and semi-monthly events calendar brochures. The corporation seems to go out of its way to expose the Portuguese public to all kinds of national music, hosting acts as famous as Deolinda to bands that are completely unknown. FNAC handles these lesser-known local indie musicians through consignment sales, taking on a stack of thirty to fifty CDs at a time which often sell out after the live performance.

That said, FNAC is an exception to the rule--a corporate outlier as benefactor to these orphaned musical composers. Legislation that would subsidize the cultural contribution of these Iberian urban neofolk musicians has yet to materialize. The general lack of institutional support was something politically engaged musicians across Portugal and Spain constantly lamented. The hybrid music that many of these groups create is, in part, a fight for the very survival of the traditional arts that have inspired them. The folklore which these bands strive to maintain for a new generation of national music consumers has been largely forgotten or ignored by bureaucrats that see little value in most indie musical production.

The fault seems to lie in the failure of elected officials, corporate leaders, and influential academics to see the value in this, as yet, quite marginalized cultural production. Yet these bands forge ahead due to a love for their creation. They didn´t devise a marketing plan which added traditional music *a* to international genre *b*. These composers created this kind of music because it naturally emerged in them via a set of deeply entrenched musical influences which combined their national and generational voices to fashion a very distinct personae and style with which other Iberian youth could

relate. The very idea of getting institutional support for their artwork was something they rarely considered when forming their bands.

Moreover, the inspired indie composer is seldom the one looking for such collaborative opportunities. The Iberian urban neofolk musician tends to thrive on the periphery. Any association with governmental authorities could potentially compromise the perceived authenticity of some of these musicians as subversive misfits that rearticulate the traditional forms which for decades had been associated with the ultra-conservative authoritarian regimes of Franco and Salazar. It is ironic that any neofado or neoflamenco musician would complain about not receiving funding, given that it really may not be in his or her best interest. However, it is, I believe, in the best interest of the respective Iberian governments to protect, encourage, and incorporate these subcultural actors into the dominant national ideoscapes. The new kinds of subcultures that misfit artists such as these instigate are typically always already on the margins and must necessarily be pulled back into the mainstream by the powers that be. As Dick Hebdige points out, it is in the interest of entrenched governmental and corporate entities to incorporate, co-opt, and commodify these marginal actors and their subcultural creations into the dominant hegemonic framework of normalized, acceptable cultural expression:

> It is through this continual process of recuperation that the fractured order is repaired and subculture incorporated as a diverting spectacle within the dominant mythology from which it in part emanates: as ´folk devil´, as Other, as Enemy. The process of recuperation takes two characteristic forms:

(1) the conversion of subcultural signs (dress, music, etc.) into mass-produced objects…[225]

(2) the ´labelling´ and re-definition of deviant behavior by dominant groups—the police, the media, the judiciary. (94)

These two forms of subcultural incorporation have been standard practice for those interested in maintaining the social discourse status quo ever since the very emergence of subcultural actors. Portuguese and Spanish corporate leaders and governmental authorities should be actively pursuing the hegemonic control of such misfit outliers. On the other hand, I believe many of the bands that produce this kind of music should actively resist such attempts by these governments to co-opt their artistry.

Recent scholarly work on governmental incorporation and exploitation of the local arts considers how these musicians could potentially provide a very lucrative return on investment for the nation. Elizabeth Currid, in *The Warhol Economy* (2007), looks at the way culture industries (mostly in the forms of art, music, and fashion) can be construed as just as important to the urban economy as any other industrial or service sector that operates within it. Currid takes a more optimistic, top-down perspective, in contrast to Hebdige´s more pessimistic analysis of typical relationships involving governments and corporations with subcultural agents. Currid is not preoccupied with issues revolving around the loss of a subcultural artist's perceived authenticity when supported by dominant actors. From Currid´s perspective, the cultural tastemakers within

[225] This was precisely the option chosen by the Spanish PSOE party both nationally and locally (by the municipal Madrid administration of Tierno Galván) with respect to the radical *movida madrileña* subcultural actors.

a metropolis will determine who the authentic artistic innovators are.[226] Issues of authenticity are not questioned because the major metropolitan culture industries have their own internal, top-down system determined by these tastemakers. Governmental or corporate financing of the chosen artist is considered as in the interest of such powerful agents and not as detrimental to said cultural creator.

Currid uses the Warhol economy thesis to generalize more broadly on the function of culture in the social and economic evolution of any city, encouraging government agencies to stimulate creative output, as well as creative networking, within the arts community. What often occurs is the stifling of such creative output (i.e. the Sinde law, the SGAE´s reluctance to permit its members to use Creative Commons Licensing, and noise ordinance legislation which criminalizes street performances) as we will see below in the case study of the indie neoflamenco band Canteca de Macao. Municipal governments often fail to recognize the function of culture to attract corporations to their city: "Culture is an employer (from galleries to recording studios), and contributes to an atmosphere that helps the city draw workers and businesses that seek out places with a vibrant creative community and the amenities it provides" (49). The fostering of this kind of rich cultural environment is beneficial to Iberian governments and corporations alike in that it often creates a thriving tourism industry. The promotion of a culturally rich artistic community also serves to spread local

[226] Let me be clear that I am not in favor of this system which seems to just replace one dominant authority for another in the process of selecting an acceptable canon for the general populace. See the introduction for more information on the detrimental effects of entrenched gatekeepers (especially the popular internet guardians of indie orthodoxy—Pitchfork, Brooklyn Vegan, etc.) on indie music production.

knowledge while it simultaneously attracts a more permanent youthful talent which might otherwise emigrate to cities like New York, Paris, or London.

Supporting the local art scene, then, must be considered by civic leaders with regards to other relative opportunity costs. Can Lisbon (or even Madrid) attract the best international talent if local and national governments consistently neglect to cultivate the kind of creations that give the city an exceptional allure? How does the return on the investment of incubating a lively arts scene in which these groups can prosper--which in turn draws in highly skilled workers--compare to that of other municipal ventures? One could argue that Lisbon, as an integral part of the European circuit for the international buzz band touring acts, already hosts a continual cultural draw which should attract international corporations and tech-savvy entrepreneurial talent. This argument, however, ignores important economic research on the local multiplier effect, also known as the local premium. The concept of the local premium holds that when one dollar is spent by a consumer at a locally owned or operated store, that dollar will in turn be spent several times again within this same community, generating incremental wealth with each transaction. When the same dollar is spent at a corporate chain or other absentee-owned business, the majority of that dollar immediately leaves the local community. If Lisbon's main cultural attraction for the younger generations is the touring international buzz band instead of local groups, the city may be able to retain local business talent and draw immigrant prodigies for its corporate service sector; however, its microeconomic position is effectively weakened due to the resulting inability to retain, and thus regenerate, most

of the cultural wealth spent within the capital. A far greater damage is done to the municipal maintenance of local knowledge.

If municipal or national Iberian governments were to subsidize the albums of a band like OqueStrada, all parties would seemingly benefit: The members of OqueStrada would be able to drop any extra-musical employment that interferes with their creative production or promotion. They would have more time and a bigger budget with which to create a more sophisticated recording, to expand the range of their tour circuit, to hone their performance both on and offstage. Municipal, regional, and national governments and corporations would benefit from the multiplying effects of a locally based Warhol economy.

Nevertheless, as Hebdige points out, this kind of co-optation necessarily limits the subversive potential of any subcultural performer. Any collaboration between subcultural actors and governments or corporations is often perceived by the indie fan as "selling out". Authenticity is questioned. The fan is the biggest loser in such an arrangement: All the cultural or subcultural capital which the fan has accrued via association with the band that has now sold out is essentially lost. The band, as a result, experiences some negative consequences due to its affiliation with dominant powers. It will most likely lose the more subversive contingent of its subcultural following. Conversely, the group stands to gain a wider mainstream audience. The band may also lose some artistic liberty with respect to its ability to engage political issues that directly involve its benefactor(s).

So do the benefits of such collaboration outweigh the negatives for the neoflamenco or neofado musician? I believe it depends on the subversive goals of the band in question. The transgressive reputations of bands such as Pony Bravo or Canteca de Macao would be damaged by such an alliance. Both bands create subversive lyrical and visual content that is directly confrontational with conservative national and international governmental discourses. The Canteca de Macao song "Los hijos del hambre no tienen mañana" asks the listener to reconsider her position within a global economy based on an exploitative capitalist system. The comfortable Spanish listener is ridiculed for worrying about her weight when the first-person protagonist of the song doesn´t have a bite to eat and must risk death, in order to survive, by sailing across the strait of Gibraltar to Spain. The song then switches to the perspective of the Spanish citizen who, informed by a xenophobic national discourse on immigration, demands the immigrant leave immediately. The voice changes once again as an omniscient narrator accuses the Spanish citizen of a casual indifference to the daily death of the kind of North African immigrant whose voice begins and ends the track. Canteca de Macao's "Chistosos" deals with the dominant national power´s ability to control and manipulate information with the end of preventing dissent and true representative democracy. In the face of information manipulation the band calls for action, pure and simple. Another Canteca de Macao track, "Alternativa libertaria," represents the author´s (Ana Saboya) reflection on a liberating alternative lifestyle that is positioned explicitly against oppression, exploitation, and the boss. The author dreams of occupying a flat where dominant power coercion via affirmation (in the guise of the uniform) no longer exists.

She dreams of liberty while accusing these dominant powers of massacres in Palestine and Guinea, and even duping the global population with the "fake moon landing" of NASA´s Apollo 11. Pony Bravo´s song "La Rave de Dios" presents a vision of God's rave, taking place in Wichita, Kansas. Everyone in the city goes to the rave to catch a heretofore unheard of high. The song intersperses an authentic audio recording in which a charismatic believer describes his encounter with God: "Dios simplemente aparece y, de repente, pum! llega y lo sabes" (Alonso) (God just appears and, all of a sudden, pum! He arrives and you know it). The code with which we are to interpret this statement is established by the verses which immediately precede it that compare the high produced by Jesus Christ with the best acid trip and the best cocaine high ever experienced. Over a slowed electronic beat which attempts to sonically imitate a brutal acid-trip low, Alonso repeats the verse for which the album is titled "Por un gramo de fe" (For a gram of faith). This transgressive refrain references the New Testament verse in which Christ rebukes his disciples after they asked why they were not able to exorcise a demon: "Because of your little faith. For truly, I say to you, if you have faith like a grain of mustard seed, you will say to this mountain, 'Move from here to there,' and it will move, and nothing will be impossible for you" (*New Living Translation*, Matt. 17:20). Alonso switches the Spanish word for grain (grano) with the Spanish word for gram (gramo), thereby connecting Christ's *grano de fe* with the raver's constant pursuit of an ever-more-intense high, in this case via a *gramo de fe*. The album cover for the Pony Bravo album *Un gramo de fe* (2010) shows Christ's resurrection. Christ emerges from a shark-infested sea. His arms are reaching to a sky that is centered with a burnt piece of toast. The burns

in the toast outline the image of Pope Benedict the XVI. From either side of the toast pour $100 and $20 notes. The photomontage is an obvious critique of the Catholic Church's capitalist exploitation of its members.

Both groups also directly and indirectly take on multinational corporate malfeasance or problems involving the local business.[227] The Canteca de Macao song "Esta vida no la entiendo" compares the lifestyles of the Spanish 1% with that of the 99%. The singer refuses to sing to the local franchise grocery store owner because he does not treat her as an equal, nor will he sell her the cake she wants. She says that while he enjoys a wine tasting flight at the gourmet club, she is forced to buy bread in a different grocery store chain. She defiantly rejects to sing to him as an equal human being because he did not treat her like one. The Canteca de Macao song "Backstage" attempts to lyrically display the band's troubled relationship with their label. The musician is portrayed as subservient to the label's control of the final product—decisions which are based solely on mass culture profitability. The musician is seen as a prostitute, and music itself, a hopelessly lost vagabond.

Nevertheless, not all indie neoflamenco or neofado bands are ill-suited toward collaboration with national or local businesses or governments. A band like OqueStrada, for instance, would probably benefit from such a partnership based on their open celebration of national traditions as well as the general lack of subversive content in their lyrics. The band´s push for local knowledge and encouragement of locally based

[227] See Chapter Three for an in-depth analysis of such critiques by Pony Bravo in the song "Super-Broker" and the photomontage "Procesión de las Azores."

consumption would indeed fit well into a like-minded political program that wishes to promote traditional values as well as local commerce. However, this ideological economic stance inherently precludes the band´s co-optation by a multinational corporation. In the next section I analyze the sustainable capitalist insight of the Almada-based neofado group OqueStrada in light of traditional anti-corporate indie values.

OqueStrada and Sustainable Capitalism

The musicians that perform neoflamenco or neofado come from diverse music backgrounds, but are united in a worldview that is largely informed by indie principles. Indie music was originally founded on an opposition to the global mainstream product of the majors. Historically speaking, the indie scene espoused a predilection toward small scale, often local, music production. The term indie is an abbreviation of independent music, indicating its position as free from the constraints of subservience dictated by market forces.[228] The seminal groups within any indie subgenre created a sound according to the collective tastes of the band members themselves, which in turn would draw like-minded fans to purchase their albums at independent record shops. Economic returns from such sales were negligible in the eyes of the multinational media conglomerates. The existence of indie music as an important market force would only take shape after the magazine *Sounds* began to chart sales at selected independent retail shops in October 1975, followed by *NME* in October 1979 and *Melody Maker* in October 1980. Around the advent of punk, small DIY labels were beginning to connect with

[228] indie is typically spelled with the first letter I in small case--a linguistically diminutive semiotic which historically indicated an institutionalized culture of self-effacement and indifference to normative social roles.

nascent independent distribution networks in the US and UK, which in turn favored independent retail outlets. Labels such as Rough Trade in London were initially organized as a co-operative: "all employees, from directors to those working in the warehouse, were paid the same. All company decisions were made at general assemblies, and all employees were allowed to have a voice in company decisions" (Fonarow 34). The entire network was established in direct contrast to the multinational music industry--valuing autonomy, local character, and an unmediated artistic vision over marketability. The collective nature of these initial efforts has been engrained ever since on the worldview of indie practitioners.[229] The indie band could hardly have survived without an independent label, distributor, record shop, and like-minded fan.

The resulting inherent affinity toward supporting a local, "mom-and-pop" style of capitalism is still alive and well today amongst many producers and consumers of indie music. When one considers the competitive pricing of corporations such as Wal-Mart or Carrefour, the decision of those consumers on a tight budget to spend a little more for a similar product at the local co-op is very much political in nature. Sustainable glocal capitalism is a relatively new concept that breaks from the traditional philosophy of capitalist economics in which the pursuit of individual self-interests is assumed to benefit

[229] This is not to imply that indie still means what it used to. The original success of indie in music as well as in other art forms has led to a vast marketplace for all things "indie." As the term became successively watered-down, those musicians who may have, in the past, referred to themselves as indie now avoid the term like the plague, preferring alternative general terms like underground, experimental, avant-garde or far more specific generic affiliations. Follow the link below for an example of how the term indie itself has been co-opted and perverted by those wishing to cash in on the street cred that indie artists toiled to establish. Strong Bad, a recurring character on The *Homestar Runner* series of animated Flash web cartoons, has a comical take on the difference between independent and indie films in his reply to a fan's email asking "Does Strong Badia ever host an independent film festival?" Strong Bad's jesting illuminates a poignant critique of the state of indie artistry, as well as that of the term itself in the twenty-first century: http://www.homestarrunner.com/sbemail203.html.

the larger society. John Ikerd suggests a form of 'enlightened self-interest' that attempts to consider aspects of human relationships that are often neglected in classical economics. Ikerd builds his case as a 'common sense' response to the rational economics founded by philosophers from the Age of Enlightenment and carried on to the present. He tackles the assumption that if an economic being makes some sacrifice that benefits another person, it's only because he or she expects to receive some greater benefit in return. Any transaction that involves individual self-sacrifice without this expectation is considered as no longer purely economic in nature.[230] When referring to the work built off of these foundations by twentieth-century economic thinkers such as Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman, Ikerd states:

> They treated wealth as essentially equivalent to well-being and largely ignored the intrinsic importance of personal relationships and ethical behavior in determining overall human well-being. Such things as altruism, ethics, morality, sympathy, empathy, friendship, and love are all lumped together into the consumer's preference structure, which is accepted as predetermined or given. Society and nature are treated as externalities, as affecting preferences, but from outside the realm of economic decision making. (27)

Ikerd's objection to this line of thinking is based on what he considers common sense, that is, that our quality of life is determined not only by the utility obtained through our economic transactions, but also via our personal relationships. Some of these personal relationships *are also* economic relationships. He goes on to argue that such relationships are ends rather than means which enhance our quality of life along with that

[230] According to Philip Wicksteed, such a transaction is affected by what he terms *tuism*, as opposed to *egotism*. Wicksteed defines *non-tuism* in terms of the relationship of exchange within a perfectly competitive market. Rational actors are those that are indifferent as to the interests of those with whom they exchange (180-181).

of others. Economic relations based on such enlightened concepts of self-interest, increase the utility of all those involved.[231]

That these kinds of economic relationships are based on enlightened self-interest make the pursuit of such communal utility *de facto* political. These exchanges are rooted in a desire amongst individuals to balance the economic, social, and spiritual dimensions of their lives while increasing communal utility as a whole. Within the urban spaces of Lisbon and Madrid, such enlightened economic bonds between local consumer and local producer are reinforced daily via transactions made in the mom-and-pop grocer, retail store, local bar, coffee shop, restaurant, or service provider. By supporting such locally owned merchants, these urban consumers foster a community with a face. That is, as opposed to the publicly traded multinational store--where the owners are thousands of unknown shareholders--the owners of these companies mingle with their customers on a daily basis.

This is exactly the kind of self-supportive community from which the indie scene was born. The hybrid nature of the Iberian indie neofolk band is thus inherently doubly engaged with such a community in that their roots are firmly grounded in indie politics as they simultaneously push for a revaluation of local and communal culture via a revival of flamenco and fado. The neofado band OqueStrada has exemplified this kind of political commitment to sustainable glocal capitalism by word and deed.

[231] In economics, utility is a measure of satisfaction. Utility refers to a quantifiable sum of satisfaction, which is received by an end user from consuming a good or service.

Fig. 27. OqueStrada playing live in studio for the 75th Anniversary of Rádio Pública (from left to right): J-Marc Dercle (aka Pablo) and his contra-bacía, Marina Henriques, João Lima, and Marta Miranda. Photographs by Catarina Limão, 17 December 2010, from Flickr Creative Commons, 11 June 2013.

OqueStrada refer to their sound as *fado dos subúrbios* (fado from the outskirts):

> There are two main ideas here; one is economic, and the other is geographic. We are in Lisbon, but at the same time we are not. We are in the suburbs of Lisbon. With respect to the economic, the sons of fadistas don't have enough money to live in Lisbon--in the typical neighborhoods. Even the fadistas--many have come to live in the suburbs. So sometimes it's in the suburbs that you can hear the most interesting fado, because it's not for tourists. Lisbon has become a very expensive city. You have the tourist circuit of fado, but in the suburbs you sometimes will find some very good fado nights. With respect to our sound, we take fado [as] a base, because it is a nice [foundation], rhythmically [speaking]. And then we invite every culture that exists in the Lisbon suburbs to mix in with the fado--because we have Africans here, Brazilians, etc. So we invite all the immigrants to come into the music of our fado. That is why we call it the fado of the suburbs--because in the suburbs there live many people that are Portuguese, but that are very mixed. So it is a fado like that. (Marta Miranda)

The sentiment expressed here by Miranda echoes that of Novembro's Miguel Filipe: The true contemporary Portuguese fado is not that which is produced in the myriad *casas de fado* scattered across central Lisbon, but is instead found in the outskirts, in the periphery. Also like Novembro, OqueStrada is entirely composed of self-taught musicians who wish to rid Portugal of "the pedestal of the professional musician" (Marta Miranda). OqueStrada´s João Lima, like Miguel Filipe, taught himself how to play the Portuguese guitar. Whereas Filipe´s Portuguese guitar warbles and crescendos through guitar pedal

modifications and waves of distorted feedback, Lima´s guitar sound is clean, bright, and often furiously picked or strummed. Even when sampling an icon as quintessentially post punk as Billy Idol, Lima plucks out a fast but restrained riff throughout. On the song "Eu e o meu país," OqueStrada performs a *fado-dos-subúrbios* take on the contemporary mash-up. The song builds off of Pablo playing a standard rockabilly walking-bass riff on his contra-bacia which, once Lima comes in, immediately transforms into a tune mimicking the background music for Nintendo´s first Super Mario Bros. game. The song then breaks into a sort of chanson-ska before slowing to a meditative sitar-like violin/accordion duo. OqueStrada next builds a crescendo which climaxes into Billy Idol´s post punk/new wave dance tune "Dancing With Myself" before returning to the sprightly chanson-ska. This unusual hybrid musical combination and sampling is underscored by OqueStrada´s lyrical statement which envisions the unification of various Lusophone and European *ethnoscapes* on the micro-level of the suburban neighborhood:

De distrito em distrito,	From district to district,
de freguesia em freguesia,	from parish to parish,
e quando os teus braços chegam aos meus,	and when your arms come to mine,
nós somos só um, somos um só.	we are just one, we are one alone.
Somos só um, somos um só	We are just one, we are one alone,
eu e o meu país.	me and my country.
(Marta Miranda)	

Musically, OqueStrada goes a step further than Filipe´s Novembro by integrating not only indie pop and rock into the traditional fado soundscape, but also the sound of this *fado dos subúrbios*: Rhythmic and harmonic elements representing various cultures across the Lusophone and European worlds which now intermingle as they sonically pour daily into the streets of Almada. The frequent changes of musical references permit the

listener to take an audible walk through OqueStrada's neighborhood. It is as if we ourselves pass by houses that are playing this music, one melody/rhythm fading into the next. The variety of music heard emanating from these immigrants' homes could be considered a cacophonous form of noise pollution to the average tourist or local, but to the members of OqueStrada it is a source of inspiration.

In "Eu e o meu país" OqueStrada performs the nation itself: one with its ex-colonies ever since the Carnation Revolution of April 1974 opened the doors to PALOP immigration; one with Europe ever since Portugal´s integration into the EEC on January 1st, 1986. The various cultural influences are woven into the band's aesthetic both sonically and visually throughout their live performances. They find inspiration for their music, album artwork, and theatrical stage and dress in the sights and sounds that characterize the literally colorful Almada neighborhood. The restaurants, shops, houses, and apartments, as seen from Lisbon across the Tagus River, are a bright splash of vibrant primary colors which drastically contrast with Lisbon's dull and dirty pastels. After crossing the river, one finds in Almada a variety of restaurants offering a fresh catch of the best fish and shellfish available in the nearby Tagus and Atlantic. Almada delights all the senses: Along with the colors and sounds, the city draws tourists and locals alike on casual summer Sundays with the scent of a simmering *marisqueira* and the taste of seawater that lingers like a spray mingled into the perfectly warm coastal air.

Although OqueStrada now currently perform their lively hybrid neofado style combination to sold-out theaters across the country, the band first began performing in the Lisbon city streets. Miranda and Pablo started performing a sort of urban street

theater in 2001 which quickly led to them being contracted to perform for local shopkeepers. "We were playing in shop windows [while] working on urban scenes with actors and comedians writing texts for the streets" (Marta Miranda). Miranda and Pablo wanted to change the national perception of the street musician by creating a kind of mobile orchestra in which a rotating group of street performers employed a variety of acoustic instruments to produce intense and intricate rhythmic patterns. All of this would be accompanied by a series of theatrical performances set in an intimate street setting. Not only did OqueStrada produce hybrid music from the start, they were also establishing themselves as hybrid art performers, mixing live music with live theater.

OqueStrada desired to capture the ambiance of Lisbon fado and jazz, both of which they considered closed scenes when they first began performing. They perceived the local experimental music movement--such as that hosted by the club Zé Dos Bois--as another closed circuit. Unable to break into these scenes without some kind of professional recording, they began to perform fifteen-minute shows near the Basílica de Nossa Senhora dos Mártires on the corner of Rua Garrett and Rua Serpa Pinto, in Lisbon´s Chiado neighborhood. After a series of mixed reactions to their hybrid street spectacle, and a constant rejection by local clubs and theaters to host their performances, the band took to the road:

> We knew that the Portuguese didn´t really understand the street musician. They considered street music as primarily performed by poor people. We started to make music because we thought in Portugal it was easier to make a format and travel—that is why we took the contra-bacia and not the contrabass—[we took] little things. So that was the concept, a moving orchestra. OqueStrada means orchestrate your road, your own destiny, which also is a reference to fado, because fado means destiny--make your own life. In Portugal we say that your

> destiny is written in the palm of your hands. And in OqueStrada we say that destiny is right in the palm of your hands…So what we did during the first year was to invite all the musicians from OqueStrada at the time and--since we didn't have money--we proposed to them that the four of us would go to play in the street or bar, pass out our home-made CDs, pass a hat around for money, and show our work. So we did that at first--we would arrive to a little village, playing [in the] afternoon, then at night. We spent twenty days like that, handing out our card to people. They were very surprised because there was nothing like that. The Portuguese people were used to musicians in the streets singing covers or their own songs, but what we had was a show…After we returned to Lisbon then, we started to receive [offers] for shows from theaters around the country. Either they saw us over the summer (the promoters), or they had a friend who saw [us] during the summer, and they wanted to schedule us that winter. So with this we were able to play for six years in theaters and festivals across Portugal. The only thing was that our cachet wasn't as big. And all the people from the music scene, like [João] Aguardela…were surprised with our attitude. Because usually all the people from the scene are used to going into the studio, making a CD, getting radio play, playing big concerts--it's a life. But since we came from theater, we saw it from another [angle]. (Marta Miranda)

The play on words involved in the band´s name is itself a direct commentary on their political and aesthetic position. It alludes to the intrinsic semantics of fado: fado is Portuguese for fate, or destiny. But it simultaneously negates the deterministic nature of the word *fado* by conjoining the Portuguese verb *orquestrar* (to orchestrate) with the Portuguese noun *estrada* (road). The mid-word capital S, always included in the spelling of the band name OqueStrada, also points to such a reading for the uninitiated.[232] OqueStrada deliberately defies traditional fado fatalism by encouraging their fans to choose their own destiny.

This definition is especially pertinent with respect to OqueStrada´s ideological orientation toward a locally based sustainable capitalism which posits that every Portuguese citizen has the civic destiny in their own hands: every Euro the Portuguese

[232] One could alternatively read the name as Ó, que estrada! (Oh what a road!)

citizen spends on a good or service directly affects the fate and face of the nation as either run by Portuguese companies or multinational corporations. The destiny of Portugal as autonomous sovereignty is largely determined by the purchasing patterns of the citizens themselves. Portugal´s financial crisis is primarily a debt crisis, the result of a decades-long current account deficit. OqueStrada´s solution to this problem (as observed in the song below, "Oxalá te veja,") is simple: buy local. When a national government promotes the same agenda (via trade tariffs and embargos as well as ideological rhetoric), it is seen negatively by the global marketplace as protectionism. The result of such an action is usually an equivalent retaliation amongst the nation´s primary trading partners. However, when a local indie band endorses such a program it is imperceptible within the international marketplace, but the message can have dramatic effects within the local economy.

OqueStrada has enjoyed an increasingly growing audience across Portugal. The band is determined not to waste their opportunity to address the national ear while they have its attention. OqueStrada´s allure is in their theatrical and energetic live performances which blend a fado-pop sonic with the sounds and rhythms emanating from the various Lusophone, European, and Anglophone cultures that intermix within and without Lisbon proper. The group is using its distinctive musical representation of the global flow of immigrants to Lisbon to influence the national ideoscape and financescape via a political commitment to promoting sustainable local capitalism. Miranda lyrically glorifies her favorite aspects of local culture in the song "Oxalá te veja": "Glória à Hermínia, ao Marceneiro e tais fadistas. Glória à ginjinha, ao medronho e à Revista"

(Glory to Hermínia [Silva], to [Alfredo] Marceneiro and such fado singers. Glory to *ginjinha*, to *medronho*, and to the revue).[233] Miranda (for an interview with the Portuguese magazine *Destak*) defended chosing "Oxalá te veja" as a single, saying: "é quase uma espécie de celebração a uma geração mais velha que a nossa e que teve uma grande garra para viver este país e soube trabalhar muito bem. É dedicado a todas as pessoas para agarrarem o seu futuro...são coisas que estão a desaparecer e que gostávamos que ficassem, porque podem ter um futuro muito promissor" (Carranca) (It is a kind of celebration of an older generation that had a great enthusiasm for living and working in this country. It is dedicated to all people to encourage them to take control of their future...These things are disappearing, and we would like them to stay because they could have a promising future). I asked Miranda if this was a part of some broader political vision for the band:

> **Marta Miranda (MM):** I grew up surrounded by little commerce, the little boss of the café, etc…[In the absence of this] in Europe, how do you defend yourself, your own life, your own money? So this is why we support and speak about the little merchants, because it is disappearing. And he is very important--the little guy. We are a little country. We have a song that says that it is very nice to be little…
>
> **MA:** So you see your group as the embodiment of that concept?

[233] Hermínia Silva and Alfredo Marceneiro were two of the earliest recorded fado icons from both genders and serve here as a metonym for all traditional Lisbon fado. The final verse from the OqueStrada song I analyze next, "Se esta rua fosse minha," is "Ai é tão bom ser pequenino"(It is so good to be small)--a further homage to Marceneiro (referencing his fado track "é tão bom ser pequenino"). *Ginjinha* (aka *Ginja*), is a liqueur made by macerating the Morello cherry with sugar and then infusing it in alcohol. It is sold as a shot in most any Lisbon bar, but also can be purchased in a handful of locales that serve the liqueur on tap as only one of two options. It is also served (most famously in the walled city of Óbidos) in an edible shot glass made of chocolate—very delicious. *Medronho* trees grow wild on the poor soils in rural regions of Portugal. The fruit of these trees is like a spiky strawberry which is used to make a kind of brandy called *licor de medronho*. The *revista* that Miranda mentions refers to the Portuguese sketch comedy theater which features topical material based on sophisticated, irreverent dissections of current events and public personae.

MM: That is the genesis--the little neighborhood orchestra.

MA: …It´s really the big corporations that are bringing the whole system down now.

MM: Yes, and you don´t know where you are afterwards. You don´t know where you can really speak. You have lost all your relations. We speak about that in our work.

Every aspect of OqueStrada seems to emphasize the little. The tiny, almost inaudible, sound created by Pablo's makeshift contra-bacia requires intricate amplification in order for it to be perceived even when accompanying other acoustic instruments.[234] High pitches, such as those reached by the band musically and by Miranda vocally, have been scientifically tested with regards to their synesthetic potential, evidencing an innate human association with the concept of smallness. Many of OqueStrada's lyrics reinforce the philosophy of the teeny--stated via references to the local, the independent, the intimate, the benefits of being little, and the perceiving of all of life's beauty on the microscopic level. Even the album title *Tasca beat* references the cozy rhythm of the miniscule local bar/café: "*Tasca* is a little café. *Tasca beat* is the beat of a little café" (Marta Miranda). The rhythm of the intimate, snug, lethargic, locally owned *tasca* could be easily contrasted with its opposite: The cold, sterile, fast-paced, repetitive cadence of the globalized sweatshop. The OqueStrada song "Se esta rua fosse minha" is the track that Miranda references in the above quote:

Se esta rua, se esta rua,	If this road, if this road,
se esta rua fosse minha,	if this road were mine,

[234] Pablo's contra-bacia is basically a long stick connected to a plastic bucket by a rope. The rope is plucked in a manner similar to that employed for playing a double bass: The major differences between the two instruments being the lack of an acoustic body with which to amplify the sonic reverberations created by the plucking of the string(s). The plastic bucket of the contra-bacia provides a very weak source of resonance and, as such, Pablo's instrument must always be accompanied by a microphone and amp. Even then the instrument's sonic output is minimal at best.

eu mandava-a, eu mandava-a,	I´d demand, I´d demand,
eu mandava-a ladrilhar	I´d demand that they pave it
com pedrinha de rubi,	with rubies,
só para o meu amor passar...	just so that my love could walk on it…
Que bom ser pequenino,	How great it is to be small,
ter pai, ter mãe,	to have a father, to have a mother,
ter avós,	to have grandparents,
ter esperança no destino	to have faith in fate,
e ter quem goste de nós.	and to have someone who loves us.
Ai é tão bom ser pequenino.	Oh how great it is to be small.
(Marta Miranda)	

The first stanza of "Se esta rua fosse minha" literally reasserts the ideological desire/command intrinsic in the band´s name through the hopeful hypothetical clause "If this road were mine…I´d demand that they pave it with rubies." The ambitious call for individual autonomy is linked with the utopian aspiration of paving a lover´s path with brilliantly red gems. The final stanza reaffirms the band´s confidence in Portuguese citizens´ ability to determine their own fate, to orchestrate their road, paving it with rubies if so desired. Miranda says that it is good to be small--small like Portugal--because it allows for a cohesive national imagined community as well as a close-knit local community: to know where you are, to know where you can speak, and to have faith in a reliable future.[235] This is everything that Portugal currently lacks as a nation that has tried since 1986 to inflate itself in keeping up with the EU Joneses.[236] Over the last

[235] Miranda's sentiment echoes the kind of political and socioeconomic ideas developed in the twentieth century by Leopold Kohr and E.F. Schumacher. Their contributions to humanist economics were fundamentally based on the promotion of small community life--that "small is beautiful." For more information on their philosophies regarding the benefits of smaller nation-states, cities, etc. see Kohr's *The Breakdown of Nations* (1957) and Schumacher's *Small is beautiful* (1973).

[236] The term "keeping up with the Joneses" normally refers to an individual citizen´s tendency to compare himself with his neighbor in order to establish his position within a community. It is a calculation of an individual´s ability to accumulate the same quality and quantity of material goods as those of like standing within a specific economic class. To fail to "keep up with the Joneses" is equivalent to socio-economic or cultural inferiority. Portugal, awash with easy credit since its adoption into the European Economic

decades since the fall of the dictatorship, the Portuguese populace has been caught in an elusive attempt at reestablishing a distinct national identity within a sphere of encroaching Anglophone cultural hegemony. Within the continent, Portugal has striven to fit into, while fighting against, the homogenizing cultural goals of the European Union. After the devastating blows dealt by a series of economic interventions by the EU and the IMF, the Portuguese citizenry do not know where they stand, who they still are, or even where they are permitted to speak (specifically with respect to monetary policy). They cannot have faith in a reliable destiny because the future of the Eurozone is in question itself. If the EU countries abandon their common currency, the result would be global economic chaos. If they don´t, Portugal faces years of grinding deflation and austerity with no end in sight. OqueStrada seem to be on the side of those who argue that Portugal should drop out of the Eurozone, if only to once again be small and in control of its own destiny…and to pave over the Lisbon *calçada* (Portugal´s hand-carved stone sidewalks) with rubies, if so desired.

Miranda also voices in the quote above a central concern of sustainable capitalism: these intimate, long-established, neighborhood economic relationships are being eroded by the global flow of major capital—the rapid financescapes inherent in digital-age globalization: first the provenance of few powerful nation-states, corporations, and individual investors, and later rife with new emerging-market financial players. After the 1974 Carnation Revolution, the Portuguese economy was jolted as it had to integrate a vast labor pool of PALOP immigrants and *retornados*. In 1986, Portugal

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Community in 1986, acted in a manner similar to other relatively peripheral countries within Western Europe: they maxed out their proverbial credit cards.

would be incorporated into what would become the EU. This began a process of vastly expanded inter-European and international trade for Portuguese companies which, combined with EEC structural and cohesion funds, substantially bolstered the fledgling national economy as a result. Half a decade later, Portugal would finally have its first McDonald's, a sure sign that the economic and democratic progress achieved during the decades following Salazar-era isolationism was irreversible. Eight years later (and just a couple of years before the EU rolled out the common monetary unit of the Euro), the interest rate on ten-year Portuguese government bonds plummeted, dropping from nearly twelve percent in 1995 to four percent by 1999. By the turn of the millennium, Portugal was able to borrow at the same interest rate as Germany. This borrowing rate was enjoyed by all members of the Eurozone until the global financial meltdown starting around September 2008 ("Long-Term Interest Rate Statistics"). Money poured into a formerly impoverished Portugal from other formerly impoverished parts of the world (China, Brazil, Russia, India, etc.) as well as from institutional and individual investors across Europe and the United States. Such an influx of easy credit led to rampant overspending by Portuguese governments and citizens alike. Portuguese companies became bloated and inefficient, unable to efficiently manufacture products or provide services for export to the rest of the world, causing GDP to slip annually. The Euro made it easier for Germany to export to peripheral Europe--both by making German goods cheaper for citizens in countries like Portugal, and by making it easier for Portuguese citizens to borrow money to buy German products. It was not until the financial crisis that international lenders and ratings agencies finally realized that the countries that made

up the Eurozone were by no means equal with respect to risk. It was only then that interest rates on Portuguese government bonds began to spike upwards, reaching 1995 levels again in 2011.

Many Portuguese corporations experienced a rude awakening after the crisis. Their bloated labor structures and lax productivity meant they would be unable to effectively compete with hyperefficient, deep-pocketed international chains during the years following the financial meltdown. This difficulty for Portuguese corporations has effects that reach all the way down the economic food chain. Portugal no longer enjoys the kind of local multiplier effect which helped sustain local mom-and-pop stores for decades. For OqueStrada, the loss of the local merchant is equivalent to an incremental loss of local identity. Miranda's perspective of Portugal's situation within the global and EU economy is perhaps too dire to be considered within Ikerd's model. She lyrically glorifies the fadista and *ginjinha* not just to encourage a local consciousness of enlightened capitalist self-interest, but because she believes that these national cultural symbols are on the brink of extinction. Miranda equates Portugal with the little guy who is disappearing. With respect to the EU, Portugal is the little guy, in some ways no longer sovereign. As the EU and the IMF call for austerity and privatization of local manufacturing and services, Miranda's question becomes particularly relevant for all Portuguese citizens: how do you defend yourself, your own life, your own money?

OqueStrada has taken a political position with regards to defending the Portuguese-self via a sustainable local capitalism active in deed as well as word. In 2004, the members of Oquestrada opened the Incrível Club, across the river from Lisbon proper

in Almada, hosting a range of artistic ventures including theater, music, film, circus, etc. Miranda describes the idea behind the versatile space:

> We think about what we do, and we also think about other artists. For example, we opened…an old abandoned cinema in Almada. We did a project that recreated the old atmosphere of the get-togethers of old and young, and we created a new place for the artists. We invited all the artists saying, ´you organize your own night, you make your own tickets, etc.,´ because these are tough times, and you must do it yourself. It was good, but the people didn´t understand at the time. Now with the crisis the people are starting to understand what we meant to say over the last seven years. Music for us was all that: helping other musicians, spreading the word about other musicians. It is conceptual and practical at the same time. For us it was very important to be active in the country, and at the same time not to lose the Portuguese identity. (Marta Miranda)

After seven years of investment renovating the Incrível Club, OqueStrada lost the space (the week before I interviewed Miranda) to a higher bidder who was willing to pay double the rent that the band had been paying. The club had been very successful during the second half of the last decade due to OqueStrada´s many connections within the Lisbon theatrical and musical scenes. The Incrível Club was able to draw talent from across the Tagus River due to the commitment of its local owners. Miranda naturally voiced skepticism about the future of the space under its new corporate direction. The club has so far lain dormant since the change of hands.

Canteca de Macao, Madrid´s Noise Ordinance Laws, and Orgullo Gay

Fig. 28. Canteca de Macao´s Ana Saboya wearing a *bata de cola perroflauta*. Photograph by LaGafa, 16 March 2013, from Flickr Creative Commons, 11 June 2013.

Both OqueStrada and Canteca de Macao are groups that would fall under Wolfgang Holzinger's category of "style-combination." Canteca de Macao combines flamenco, ska, salsa, and reggae influences.[237] Canteca de Macao was the first neoflamenco group that I saw perform during my 2010 field work in Madrid. The

[237] Holzinger considers any group which creates a hybrid music in which the heterogeneous elements maintain their original character to fall under this category within his typology (279). Most of the rest of the groups mentioned in this study can be considered as performing a hybrid style combination. See Holzinger's "Towards a Typology of Hybrid Forms" for a further discussion on style with regards to considerations of how any particular musical style can play a dominant or subordinate role within the hybrid structure. Canteca de Macao plays with flamenco dominance and subordinance, with respect to the other generic influences, from song to song, and therefore cannot be considered to hold to a specific stylistic hierarchy across an album or even within any individual song.

performance I attended was in celebration of the "CeNTenario."[238] The National Confederation of Labor, or the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), presented a diverse showcase of national talent for their first major celebration of the year, including the Galician punk rock group Siniestro Total, Canteca de Macao, Kutxi Romero & Ja Ta Ja, Albertucho, El Cabrero, and Kike Suarez & la desbandada.[239] Ana Saboya, lead singer for Canteca de Macao, performed with a spastic intensity, her vocals rhythmically varying from intermittent ska staccato to a hypnotic fluidity. The neoflamenco music her band mates performed sporadically induced whole sections of the auditorium to engage in a kind of hybrid pogo-mosh pit. Canteca de Macao's lively spectacle included jugglers, fire, and fire jugglers, reminding me of the *perroflautas* I had seen perform in the streets of Madrid. This is no coincidence. Canteca de Macao was formed when a ragtag group of friends and drifters began playing impromptu street shows in the Madrid neighborhood of Embajadores. Their live shows embody an essence of the mesmerizing Felliniesque spectacle of the surreal, almost circus-like, vagabond life of *la strada.*

In Madrid, the band Canteca de Macao fought a battle similar to that of OqueStrada to keep a staple of the local arts scene alive, La Plaza de las Artes. Canteca de Macao spent the beginning of the last decade performing informal street shows throughout various Madrid neighborhoods: La Latina, Lavapies, and Embajadores. A member of the Guz family, then owners of La Plaza de las Artes, saw one of these

[238] The "CeNTenario" was a year-long, nation-wide celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the Spanish anarchist syndicate, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo *(*CNT). The event was hosted by Madrid's Sala Riviera on January 9th, 2010.

[239] El Cabrero (aka José Domínguez Muñoz) is a very intriguing figure who has been performing flamenco music since the mid-70s. A member of the flamenco scene (as well as the anarchist syndicate) since the 70s, he has been a very sought-after performer. El Cabrero has toured with the likes of Gilberto Gil, Chick Corea, and Peter Gabriel, all the while still somehow able to tend to his herd of goats.

performances and invited the band to perform in their space just off the Calle de Embajadores. La Plaza de las Artes was the first formal performance space to host Canteca de Macao. After several subsequent performances the band formed a strong bond with the Guz family, playing shows for special events and drawing a strong following from across the capital. When the Guz family was confronted by a formal noise ordinance complaint for La Plaza de las Artes, Canteca de Macao organized a petition in October 2005 to keep the club from closing. The band sent the petition out to the local community of interested Madrid-based artists and fans. The following is an excerpt of this petition sent out via the website Manerasdevivir.com:

> Queridos foreros, asiduos y forasteros, y en general al mundo entero: como sabeis los vecinos del bloque de La Plaza de las Artes están utilizando sus influencias en el ayuntamiento para que cierren la sala, y por ahora se están saliendo con la suya a base de amiguetes…alegando excusas como: "incompatibilidad entre la sala de conciertos y el restaurante"...Necesitamos urgentemente la mayor cantidad de firmas posibles para evitar que clausuren otra sala más y dejen en la calle a la familia guz que están luchando contra viento y marea para sacar adelante un espacio de participación y difusión del arte en todas sus formas… (Skafunkrastapunk)
>
> (Dear Members, regulars and outsiders, and the whole world in general: as you know the residents of the block surrounding La Plaza de las Artes are using their influence in City Hall to close the club, and now they are getting away with it with the help of their cronies…citing excuses such as ´incompatibility between the concert hall and restaurant´…We urgently need as many signatures as possible to prevent closure of yet another club, leaving the Guz family in the street, a family that is fighting against all odds to create a space for the dissemination of art in all its forms.)

La Plaza de las Artes was closed by the end of the same month, despite the help of Canteca de Macao. The efforts of OqueStrada and Canteca de Macao to foster a communal space for the production and consumption of local arts serves as just one example of how politically engaged Iberian urban neofolk bands interact with

neighborhood mom-and-pop businesses in the interests of enlightened sustainable capitalism. The Canteca de Macao song "Madriz" is a lyrical confrontation to the kind of forces that try to restrain the art of such bands raised on the vibrant urban street:

Se han quedado tan calladas las calles de la ciudad,	The city streets are so quiet,
parece que necesitaran un puñaico de sal.	they seem in need of a dash of salt.
¿Dónde quedaron las guitarras;	Where are the guitars;
los viejos cantares?	the old songs?
Simplemente no entiendo tus mentiras…	I just don´t understand your lies…
No era tan difícil dejar	Why not let the streets
que las calles tuvieran su vida?	have their life?
Y son endebles los pilares	The pillars of art
que tiene el arte en mi ciudad.	in my city are weak.
Tú me vacías de vida con todas tus mentiras.	Your lies drain the life out of me.
No me das alternativa.	You give me no alternative
Y me alejas de Madrid.	but to leave Madrid.
No es necesario esperar que salga el sol	We need not wait for the sun to rise
para que crezcan	for our flowers
nuestras flores en las aceras.	to grow in the sidewalks.
Escondieron nuestras voces,	They hid our voices,
robando cada rincón.	robbing every corner.
Pero es sólo cuestión de tiempo	But it is just a matter of time
volver a sembrar.	to replant.
Tantos bares, teatros, plazas, calles,	So many bars, theaters, plazas, streets
centros sociales, medidas alegales.	social centers, alegal methods.
Fuerza es lo que sobra.	We have a surplus of force.
Sólo faltan los lugares donde se respete	We only lack places that respect
el arte patrimonio de la humanidad.	the heritage of mankind´s art.
(Saboya)	

"Madriz" references many of the issues raised in this chapter. Saboya alludes to the desire to leave a city that hunts the musician in the streets and shutters clubs like the Plaza de las Artes. The exodus of musicians like Saboya erodes the cultural economy that in large part defines the allure of such urban spaces. She laments the loss of the lively street culture from which Canteca de Macao was born. For Saboya, the city lacks spice due to its lack of respect for the patrimony that was first created and evolved within

the context of the street. The hybrid musics known today as flamenco and fado are themselves intimately tied to the connections made between various ethnic groups in the increasingly busy streets of early nineteenth-century marginalized urban Iberian neighborhoods. The city street still functions as the fundamental point of encounter between the kinds of cultural worlds that produce the new hybrid music that makes up the entirety of this study. Saboya hints in these lyrics at the inventiveness, resourcefulness, and resilience of the multitudes which make up the "forces" that, like cultural *guerrillas*, thrive and attack in the interstices and margins of the city space. The promise Saboya makes in "Madriz" is (lucky for Madrid) not to leave, but to "replant." The word replant may sound ominous and threatening, bringing to mind the kind of civil conflict and social turmoil that defined much of nineteenth-century Spain, not to mention the more recent tragedy of Spain´s Civil War. But the Canteca de Macao vocalist is by no means a revolutionary. Saboya only wishes to revitalize a lost street-based musical community by cultivating and fertilizing the urban artistic sphere. The metaphor of replanting takes an ideologically compliant local political system for granted. This for Saboya is merely a return to the Álvarez del Manzano/Ruiz-Gallardón-era policies of the beginning of the millennium:

> Hace como seis años, había una efervescencia de la gente que se juntaba en la calle a tocar, que no la he vuelto a ver…La gente se juntaba con la guitarra y en la Plaza del Grial o Lavapiés te juntabas con unos, con otros, de repente llegaba alguien con un saxofón y se unía…llegaba un pibe con fuego, con malabares de fuego y mientras nosotros tocábamos…algunos estaban bailando...El grupo se formó así. (Montes)
>
> (Six years ago, there was a ferment of people that gathered in the street to play which I have not seen since…People gathered together with the guitar in the Plaza del Grial or Lavapiés, you joined up with some of them, suddenly someone comes

with a saxophone and joins...along comes some kid with fire, starts fire juggling, and while we played…others were dancing...The group was formed that way.)

Noise ordinance laws in Madrid (and Lisbon) require clubs to maintain specific external decibel levels which, if not observed, can effect the closure of spaces like the Plaza de las Artes. Current legislation in Spain´s capital is even stricter with regards to the same offences occurring on the street. La Concejalía de Medio Ambiente de Madrid (the Madrid Environmental Department) attempted to pass Article 41 in early 2011, led by the mayor of Madrid, Ana Botella, prohibiting all unlicensed musical performances in the street, regardless of decibel level.[240] Prior to the passing of this article, municipal legislation required all street performances to be acoustic in nature. Punitive measures for such infractions would have included fines reaching up to 750 Euros, the confiscation of instruments, or both. Another bill was passed in March 2011, but fortunately the wording wasn't as restrictive as the original legislation. Under this legislation, the use of amplification and drums has been outlawed, and no music can be performed within 150 meters of "protected areas" (i.e. nursing homes, etc.). The wording leaves it primarily to the citizens of any given neighborhood to decide if they are being bothered by the noise. This has become a decisive factor in the battle between residents of Madrid´s Chueca neighborhood and participants of the Chueca-based annual Gay Pride festival.

The legislation´s first major controversy came due to the way it was implemented during the June 2011 Madrid Gay Pride celebration. Throughout the duration of the Pride festivities, concerts in the Chueca neighborhood were required to be "silent"

[240] Botella, a politician belonging to the Spanish People´s Party (PP) was elected as the first female mayor of Madrid on the 27th of December, 2011, after the prior mayor, Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón, resigned to work as the Spanish Minister of Justice. She is also the wife of the PP´s honorary president and former Prime Minister José Maria Aznar.

performances. In order to hear the festival music (at any time of the day) fans had to wear headphones. This measure was the product of the new legislation as well as a decade´s old battle between Pride organizers and Chueca residents. While attending the prior year´s celebration, I noticed several banners hung from Chueca resident housing balconies exclaiming outrage against the festival. The banners decried the noise pollution of the celebration and sometimes attacked the nature of the extravagant festival itself: "Orgullo sí, pero no así!" (Pride yes, but not like this!) According to António Poveda, the president of the Federación Estatal de Gays y Lesbianas (State Federation of Gays and Lesbians), the options given to the organizers of the Orgullo Gay festivities were either to broadcast performances via a radio transmitter while holding all performances within a soundproof stage, or move the Pride celebration itself to another area: the Plaza de España, the Plaza de Callao, or in the Luna Cineplex (Redondo).

The first movement toward what would eventually become the Chueca Orgullo Gay festival dates back to 1978.[241] The *manifestación del Orgullo*, as it was then called, occurred just outside Chueca, stretching from the Jacinto Benevente Plaza to Sol. Due to space issues, the yearly manifestations were moved to the Plaza de España after reaching half a million participants. "Las fiestas empezaron después, primero en la calle Pelayo, ya en 1986...La plaza de Chueca entró en juego en 1994, para no salir NUNCA" (López) (The parties began later on, first in the Pelayo street, in 1986…The plaza de Chueca came into play in 1994, NEVER to be moved again). The Chueca neighborhood is the heart of gay Madrid. The decision by the organizers to privilege place over form highlights the

[241] 1978 represents a fundamental year in the history of Spanish culture in transition. See Chapter One of this study for more information on Spain's transition to a constitutional monarchy.

importance of the imagined community´s space as emphasized by the all caps *NUNCA*. The Pride organizers eventually came to an agreement with then Madrid mayor Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón that they would try out a "silent pride." The oxymoronic term "silent pride" underscores a step backwards for Spanish gay rights. The modifier is not actually intended to quiet Madrid´s gay community, but rather derives from a new movement in international festival performance (the first silent festival in Spain occurred in Málaga in 2006). Nevertheless, the very fact that the Gay Pride festival was the first target of Madrid´s new noise ordinance legislation calls attention to a possible latent homophobia amongst some municipal legislators and activists. The "silencing" of gay pride perhaps draws from a deeply rooted conservative Spanish traditionalism which recoils in the face of such open sexuality and ostentation. The Orgullo Gay festivities have, over the past two decades, grown progressively not only in size, but also in extravagance. The outfits worn by some members of the gay community during these celebrations seem to annually increase in flamboyance while decreasing in skin coverage. A desire to quiet Madrid´s Gay Pride festival, under the guise of new noise ordinance legislation, can be seen as a deliberate attempt by conservative Spaniards to damper the festive mood of the celebration and, subsequently, the debauchery they associate with it. "*Orgullo sí, pero no así!"* In other words, celebrate yourselves as we see fit.

Although this festival ignited a wave of oppositional interpretations of the new legislation with regards to the discourses revolving around the normalization of Spain´s gay community, the effect of this legislation on Madrid´s sonic landscape cannot be ignored. The new legislation did not differ drastically from prior noise ordinance laws,

but the new source of enforcement by local residents has fostered an urban space characterized by a mutual civic distrust which harkens back to early Franco-era paranoia.[242] A predominant discourse of Francoist Spain perceived all that was different as dirty and dangerous. Any street music, no matter the decibel level, can potentially be construed by a neighborhood citizen in a similar respect as sonically dirty, that is, as noise pollution. Said citizen need only call on the proper authorities to immediately take care of the sonic offender. The intended result is that the casual street musician be constantly surrounded by an attentive audience, but not the kind of audience the musician most likely had in mind. The actual result has been a very effective reduction, or entire elimination, of street musicians from specific urban areas. The acoustic startup band that practices and gains fans in the street, the very genesis of groups like Canteca de Macao is now a much rarer phenomenon. The electric street band, which Canteca de Macao would eventually become while still playing the Madrid streets, is now almost completely absent. Electric instruments have not vanished from the capital space entirely. Several musicians in Madrid still currently perform with microphones and amps in outright defiance of this relatively recent legislation. The majority though can be found almost exclusively in the underground--more specifically, in the underground spaces housing Madrid´s metro system. The new noise ordinance legislation didn't target the metro,

[242] Throughout the first couple of decades following the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), the Franco regime relied on a kind of neighborhood watch network wherein suspected dissidents would be reported as such by local citizens to the secret police. This naturally created a very potent atmosphere of paranoia that effectively eliminated most forms of outright subversion to the status quo. The system was also chronically abused as it allowed for any neighborhood rivalry or score to be settled with little more than a phone call to the local *guardia civil*. The accused foe would disappear indefinitely overnight. Although receiving a small fine and losing your guitar is a pittance compared to the kind of punishment meted out by the mid-century Franco regime for suspected treason, the underlying semiotic that this legislation evokes reminds of such chilling moments in a relatively recent national history.

since it is not a protected area and has no neighbors. In addition, the Madrid Metro system, as a private space, can decide its own policies with regards to underground noise pollution. Madrid´s lively, electrified, multicultural street scene now exists primarily beneath the florescent glow and intermittent sonic blur (as trains enter and exit) of the subway station. Canteca de Macao´s hopes for a return to the kind of lively urban space that served as an incubator for groups such as theirs have been dashed for now. Saboya´s flowers are, for the time, merely tubers.

The question remains of course as to what happens to the oppositional subcultural nature of a band like Canteca de Macao if they were indeed to be co-opted by the dominant hegemonic powers. Would that necessarily mean they would lose any shred of the subversive authenticity which is oftentimes part and parcel of the band´s allure in the first place? The indie micro-ideoscapes involved in maintaining subcultural authenticity are considered below with respect to the competing macro-ideoscapes: the dominant interests of Iberian governments and multinational record label majors. The underlying issue involves the most pressing problem for national governments and international corporations, as well as musicians and fans across the world today--media piracy vs. free culture.

Neoflamenco, Media Piracy, and Creative Commons Licensing

One cannot consider nowadays the global flow in which Appadurai's various scapes interconnect without addressing the international elephant in the room of media

piracy. This global issue involves an interesting mix of all of Appadurai's scapes. It has evolved from a technoscape in which global connectivity via the Internet has allowed for all elements of the international mediascape to be available to nearly all corners of the earth. The rapid increase in hard-drive memory capacity, the global expansion in Internet bandwidth, and the explosion of websites dedicated to providing free downloads of copyrighted materials (three recent evolutions in the technoscape) have created an environment in which a song, movie, book, etc. can be illegally downloaded by anyone in the world in a matter of minutes. This infringement of intellectual property rights has caused increasing alarm amongst the major media multinational corporations due to the resulting plummet in global sales of their products (a revolutionary change in the financescape for these companies). Nevertheless, despite the drastic drop in revenues experienced by this global industry over the first decade of the twenty-first century, they are still finding ways to profit and remain relevant. These powerful media corporations maintain their long-established political sway on a global level (affecting the ideoscapes of sovereign powers across the world). Issues connected to media piracy vary from country to country based on several ethnoscape factors including cultural norms and the technological savvy of the average citizen. They also depend upon ideoscape and financescape factors such as legislation, average market price of product with respect to national purchasing power parity, legal availability of downloadable media, etc.[243]

[243] The theory of purchasing power parity seeks, in part, to consider what a particular 'basket of goods' would cost in any given country based on the national per capita GDP. The classic example is the price of McDonald's Big Mac in any given country as an easy comparative indicator due to the omnipresence of the multinational chain. *The Economist* publishes a yearly "Big Mac Index" valued at the given exchange rates for each country evaluated on the date published. This indicator serves as a striking example of the disparity between cost of living amongst a variety of developed and developing nations.

The issue of media piracy is especially relevant in a study of neoflamenco due to the prevalence of this problem in Spain. Illegal downloading is commonplace amongst a large percentage of the Spanish population which does not generally regard the practice as outright theft but rather a continuation of the kind of album swapping or mixed tape/CD creation that has a long established tradition in many Western countries. Peer-to-peer (P2P) file-sharing networks like Pirate Bay are used by young and old Spaniards alike: "Last year IDC, a research firm, found that 92% of 16- to 24-year-old internet users (and fully 70% of 45- to 55-year-olds) in Spain admitted to using peer-to-peer networks" ("Spotting the pirates" 55). Whereas, in the past, legislation in such countries had ways to target this kind of sharing, online file sharing has proven to be much more elusive for policing.[244] The issue of media piracy (or more positively "free culture") vs. intellectual property rights is a hot topic in Spain. Any consideration of twenty-first-century music production in Spain must take into account the way the tenacious pirate culture affects the individual creator. This matter becomes all the more problematic when one considers the world of indie music production due to the scene's traditional alliance with the fan and antagonistic relationship with the dominant major label industry. As I explore below, the subject becomes even more complicated when one analyzes the stance of many Spanish indie bands which, representing simultaneously Spanish and indie cultures, are doubly tied to the stance promoting free culture. Regardless of how such a political position may

[244] A private copying levy, or blank media tax, is an example of such legislation in which an extra fee is levied on purchases of recordable media. For instance, a blank media tax was levied on blank cassette tapes in the U.S. during the 1980s in order to offset the loss in a label´s album sales due to the fact that the blank tapes were most often used to create lo-fi copies of copyrighted material. The private copying levy was later dropped after the passing of the Audio Home Recording Act of 1992. The new legislation no longer deemed non-commercial copying by consumers of digital and analog musical recordings as copyright infringement. For more information see: http://www.copyright.gov/title17/92chap10.html.

affect their bottom line, they are representing an age-old indie tradition as well as actively attempting to attract a fanbase of Spanish youth which are 92% pirates! An indie neoflamenco band is even more intimately tied to a commitment to free culture than the average Spanish indie band due to flamenco's popular culture origins. Flamenco began as a street movement performed by wandering gypsy troubadours. Flamenco authenticity has origins in free cultural production that dates back to the early nineteenth century. The historically communal nature of the gypsy culture from which this music originated is yet another way in which indie neoflamenco is linked to free culture. Therefore, the contemporary indie neoflamenco band is quadruple-tied to a position promoting free culture.

On April 2009, writer-director Ángeles González-Sinde was appointed as Spain´s Culture Minister and has since held media piracy as her top priority. On March 4th, 2011, as part of the Ley de Economía Sostenible (Economic Sustainability Law, LES), a new law, la Ley Sinde, was passed with the goal of regulating internet use in an effort to protect national artists´ intellectual property rights. The Sinde law allows for the removal of content, or the interruption of service, of any website which provides Spanish users with the ability to illegally download copyrighted material whether or not the site is hosted on a server in Spain. Spanish websites involved in P2P file sharing, as well as those providing archived copyrighted material for free download, spent several months prior to the passing of this law engaged in various publicity campaigns with the goal of educating the public as to the repercussions of the passing of the Sinde law. In protest of what they perceived as a possible future technoscape dystopia, these sites went so far as

to institute a 24-hour, nationwide collective blackout of all such illegal content providers to show its Spanish users what they could expect if the law actually came to pass.[245]

The Spanish government, leading up to the passage of the Sinde law, was heavily pressured from all sides on the issue. Spanish youth, begrudgingly accustomed to a *mileurista* (those earning 1,000 Euros or less per month) lifestyle of scrimping under their parent´s roof, began to grumble of *panem et circenses*. Under the Zapatero administration, a fifth of the national population could no longer earn their daily bread *(ganar el pan diario*). The general consensus was that once the spectacle of the circus (free media via pirate websites) was taken away, the revolution would begin.[246] And so it did after the passing of the Sinde law was followed in short order by the promise of externally imposed austerity measures which would curtail national social spending on a populace that was largely already in dire straits. Young Spaniards arrived in droves to occupy Sol, the heart of Madrid, on May 15th, 2011. Zapatero´s administration, flanked

[245] Internet users who tried to access P2P, torrent, etc. sites found a black page with the slogan "Si se aprueba la ley Sinde, esta página desaparecerá" (If the Sinde law is passed, this page will disappear). This was the largest joint action recorded since December 2009 when many of the same members involved with these sites signed an Internet manifesto in order to obtain more knowledge about the proposed law. For more information see the *El Pais* article "Las principales paginas de descargas cierran en protesta por la 'ley Sinde."

[246] *Panem et circenses* (bread and circus) is a Latin term which serves as a synecdoche for the meager government provisions offered to the kind of democratically deflated citizenry that can be manipulated and appeased via such superficial and paltry gestures. The term dates back to the Roman Empire and implies that a government that provides basic needs along with cheap distraction can satisfy the lowest hierarchical desires of the majority of its populace. The phrase not only implicates the cynicism of government, but also points to the ignorance and laziness of the citizens it governs with respect to their civic duty. This saying seems to aptly describe the politically aloof Spanish populace up until the May 15th, 2011 protests. The fierce political apathy amongst Spanish young adults was palpable during my seven months (the winter, spring, and summer of 2010) of field work in Madrid (as much as apathy can be palpable). The sentiment of the *desencanto* (the national political disenchantment resulting from a series of incompetent and corrupt post-Franco governments) was imbedded in the national psyche well into the twenty-first century. The result was an extremely low voter turnout across Spain for every election since the late 80s and the distrust by most citizens (but especially the Spanish youth) of government and unions. Very few people, myself included, could have foreseen the kind of civic commitment displayed by the *indignados* from the 15M on.

on all sides with regards to economic policy, was likewise attacked from every direction on the cultural/legal issue of intellectual property rights: On one side, the economically and politically powerful interests representing the protection of national and international artists´ intellectual property rights--the Sociedad General de Autores y Editores (Society of Authors and Publishers, SGAE) and international music industry majors. On the other side was a vast majority of the national (voting) populace, fighting for free access to cultural products.

The SGAE is the primary collecting society for songwriters, composers and music publishers in Spain, akin to the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers **(**ASCAP) in the United States. The Portuguese counterpart to the SGAE is A Sociedade Portuguesa de Autores (The Portuguese Author´s Society, SPA). The SGAE protects its members' intellectual property, requiring compensation for bands whenever their music is performed publicly, whether via a broadcast or live performance. The Spanish company monitors the reproduction, distribution, public broadcast, transformation, and private copying of the musical production created by any of their 100,108 current members. The SGAE is a private company which currently manages a portfolio of over five million musical, dramatic, choreographic, and audiovisual materials ("Acerca de SGAE"). The most recent data on the SGAE income accumulated for the compensation of "Artes Escénicas y Musicales" (a unit composed of concerts, recitals, theater performances, choreography, and the performances of mimes) dates to 2010 to the sum of 41.2 million

Euros, dropping 4.5% (43.1 million Euros) from 2009.[247] Despite the fact that the SGAE had seen a slight drop in income collected for the musicians it represents from its 2008 peak of 45 million Euros, the company nevertheless retains a powerful influence over the Spanish government with regards to matters of intellectual property rights.[248] The SGAE and the music industry big four (Universal, Sony, EMI, and Warner) have long pushed Spanish politicians to implement some sort of protective legislation akin to the French Haute autorité pour la diffusion des œuvres et la protection des droits sur internet (Creation and Internet law, HADOPI), based on a graduated response approach aimed at addressing online copyright infringement. The law, more commonly referred to as "three strikes," has been implemented by various other governments such as those of New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and South Korea in order to punish repeat copyright infringers. It is a model that many interested corporate entities and government officials across the European Union would like to see enacted in each member nation:

> under three strikes Internet disconnection policies copyright holders using automated technical means, possibly provided by third parties, would identify alleged copyright infringement by engaging in monitoring of Internet users' activities, for example, via the surveillance of forums, blogs or by posing as file sharers in peer-to-peer networks to identify file sharers who allegedly exchange copyright material. (Hustinx 3-4)

The relatively new legislation has proven to be somewhat hard to enforce in France, but still seems to be more effective at stemming internet media piracy than its neighbors Spain and Portugal.

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[247] From "Informes y Auditorias: Informe de Gestión y Responsabilidad Social Corporativa de la SGAE ´10." For more information see the SGAE website.
[248] From "Informes y Auditorias: Informe de Gestión y Responsabilidad Social Corporativa de la SGAE ´09."

Efforts to fight media piracy within the Iberian Peninsula by public and private institutions alike have come up against fierce attacks by national organized hacker communities. The hackers often collaborate online with the goal of overloading and thereby temporarily shutting down the websites of anti-piracy organizations. In Portugal, the situation for the major label music industry is equally dire, but the government has barely been able to address the issue due to the nation´s own economic instability. According to the General Director of the Associação Fonográfica Portuguesa (Portuguese Phonograph Association, AFP), Eduardo Simões, the music industry in Portugal has experienced a 70% decline in sales over the course of the first decade of the new millennium, much of it due to internet piracy.[249] This steep fall in music sales is mirrored by a similar decline in net sales realized by the Portuguese film industry due to pirate networks. Plummeting sales, along with government inaction, has resulted in the attempt of independent institutions representing the intellectual property rights of all national artists to pursue unorthodox means to bring to light their pressing concerns to national judicial authorities. The last-ditch efforts of these organizations to preserve authorial rights draw the ire and attack of cyber-savvy pirates. One Portuguese institution in particular that represents Portuguese DVD rental firms, the Associação do Comércio Audiovisual de Obras Culturais e de Entretenimento de Portugal (The Portuguese Audiovisual Commerce Association of Cultural Works and Entertainment, ACAPOR) saw its email database infiltrated by national hackers going by the name "Operation Payback" on October 18th, 2010 (Querido). ACAPOR had been one of the preferred

[249] According to the *Jornal de Notícias* article "Indústria discográfica perdeu 70% de facturação em dez anos." Simões has come out publicly in favor of Portugal adopting the three strikes approach.

targets of national hackers for several years. Perhaps as retaliation for the attack, ACAPOR announced on December 20th, 2010 that it would present a criminal complaint to the Portuguese government against 1,000 Portuguese cyber-pirates on January 5th, 2011. The ACAPOR website, during the final weeks of 2010, had a pop-up window stating the following: "5 de Janeiro é o dia 1 No combate ao download ilegal em Portugal--Vai Continuar a Arriscar?" (ACAPOR) (The 5th of January is Day 1 in the battle against the illegal download in Portugal—Do you want to keep on risking it?) Nuno Pereira, then ACAPOR president, issued the following statement with respect to the group´s January 5th motives: "Temos identificados mil IP...onde houve pirataria ilegal de filmes e dia 5 entregaremos tudo na PGR.[250] A partir daí, cabe ao Ministério Público identificar as pessoas" (Alvarez) (We have identified one thousand IP addresses via which films were illegally pirated, and on the 5th we will submit this information to the PGR. From that moment on, it is up to the Attorney General to identify the people involved). All of ACAPOR´s efforts seem to be for naught as there have been no prosecutions to date of the alleged offenders included in the organization´s January 2011 list of 1,000 cyber-criminals. Under current law, Pereira has very little hope for Portugal´s ability to efficiently defend artists´ intellectual property rights:

> É preciso deixar de encaminhar estes casos para os tribunais criminais comuns. Não tenho dúvidas que a monitorização vai identificar centenas de milhares de pessoas todos os meses que fazem downloads ilegais. E se todos os casos forem encaminhados para os tribunais criminais comuns, como a actual lei define, isso vai estrangular o sistema judicial. (Marques)
>
> (These cases must no longer be handled by the ordinary criminal courts. I have no doubt that hundreds of thousands of people every month would be identified if

[250] The Procurador-Geral da República (Office of the Attorney General).

> we monitored illegal downloads. And if all these cases were referred to the ordinary criminal courts, as the current law defines, it would strangle the judicial system.)

Portugal cannot afford to chase the cyber-pirate and would perhaps benefit from the more lax, albeit more effective, three-strikes approach.

Spain, now under similar budgetary constraints, is likewise finding its Sinde law difficult to enforce due to the slippery nature of the producers and end users of pirate websites. Xavier Ribas echoes Pereira´s concern, doubting the economic feasibility of Sinde´s attack on media piracy. Ribas states that, for the holder of copyrighted material, the judicial process involved in removing illicit content is far less effective and economical then going directly to the server provider. The sheer volume of juridical complaints that this legislation would impose on the system would mean that the process to get one case resolved would last far too long, giving the illicit page administrators ample time to change servers once the complaint was finally legally resolved. Upon changing servers, the page administrators are provided several further lucrative months of illicit activity before a new case is brought against them. Another issue Ribas brings up is the fact that the largest cloud storage servers are geographically outside of the jurisdiction of Spanish judicial authority. New accounts can be up and running on these foreign servers in less than a minute. The database of illicit links can migrate from server to server in less than an hour and recuperate its Google position in less than a week. A single tweet sent out to former page users is sufficient to spread the word immediately as to the new location of the illicit page links. Ribas finishes his summary with the caveat that approximates the amount of effort required to block one of these sites through the

judicial process as more than 1,000 times greater than that required for an illicit page administrator to change servers and postpone charges (Ribas). Effectively, it is at a cat-and-mouse chase that will eventually prove a costly failure for a government that currently has very few economic resources to begin with. Whereas in the United States, which has experienced a decline in online piracy dating back to the closure of the popular P2P site, Limewire, in 2007, Spain has experienced a continual surge in media piracy over the same time period.

The nation is currently Western Europe's leader in media piracy. Music sales, in turn, have collapsed. "In 2010 barely 10m CDs were sold in the country--down from 71m in 2001. Digital sales are puny, too" (Spotting the Pirates").[251] As a result, many of the major multinational labels in Spain are paring down their operations and pruning staff in order to relocate their investments in more lucrative national markets. The Spanish government is doing whatever it can to appeal to these economically important major labels vis-à-vis the aforementioned legislation which protects their investments. The national branches of these major labels have traditionally provided a significant source of revenue for the Spanish government. Nevertheless, in order to keep the big four from uprooting its operations, the country is forced to pursue a program of intellectual property rights enforcement it can ill afford. As Rivas points out, the Whac-a-Mole formula of the Sinde law will only prove self-defeating and, eventually, economically debilitating. A three-strikes approach would take some of the pressure off governmental attempts at policing piracy, laying the onus on the copyright holder to monitor intellectual copyright

[251] David Kassler, the manager of EMI´s operation in Europe, comments here on the dismal state of the Spanish mainstream: "You can have a number-one album in Spain with 3,000 sales' (55).

infringement. However, as it is, the majors have in large part already washed their hands of the Spanish problem and are shifting their investments to locales that promise better returns while requiring less major label vigilance of local piracy. The problem is perhaps irresolvable as it seems to be the product of a deeply ingrained and nationally shared cultural assumption: for many Spaniards, copying is not considered theft. Access to these illicit sites is not just commonplace in Spain, it is *the driving force* of national Internet use. As of yearend 2010, online media piracy had generated approximately 70% of Spain´s entire Internet traffic (Muñoz).

Complete control of piracy from the top-down is still quite elusive in Spain. A microeconomic perspective of this phenomenon, from the bottom-up, might shed light on how the individual musician navigates and survives in an industry in which the only winner seems to be the end user. How does a Spanish band profitably deal with the tendency of its national fan base to disseminate its musical creations without its explicit permission? Pony Bravo, Canteca de Macao, and El Ultimo Grito, each very aware of the prevalence toward media piracy as practiced by the majority of their fans, have decided to offer their albums for free download on their respective websites. Despite the many honors and awards that Pony Bravo has received from countless online and print media for their first three albums, the band has chosen to offer these albums electronically, free of charge to interested fans. This has proven to be an effective method of gaining a solid fan base for the band. Ticket and merchandise sales have largely compensated for the low return on investment of Pony Bravo´s albums. That said, the cost of touring across Spain for a band such as Pony Bravo is not cheap. The

revenues provided by touring theaters and clubs across Spain, even if they are composed completely of sold-out shows are not substantial given the average capacity of many of the venues in which a band like Pony Bravo would perform. One has to wonder if the band will be willing and able to sustain such a meager livelihood without the additional support of album sales over the long term. This preoccupation is voiced in the following plea for fans to consider purchasing their albums, as well of those of struggling indie groups like them:

> Aunque desde su web os lo podéis bajar gratuita y legalmente…os haríais un favor a vosotros mismos…si os compráis el disco, o lo regaláis por Reyes…la cuestión es que si seguimos descargándonos todo sin pensar en las consecuencias, que aparezcan grupos como el que forman los sevillanos cada vez va a ser más difícil, ¿o acaso creéis que la *gasofa* para que lleguen a tocar a tu ciudad, los instrumentos y demás cachivaches son gratuitos también? ("Trota a por tu cd de Pony Bravo")
>
> (Although you all can go to their website and download their album free and legally…you would do yourself a favor…if you bought the disc for yourself, or bought it as a gift for someone to celebrate Three Kings Day…The point is that if we continue to download everything without thinking about the consequences, groups like Pony Bravo will find it difficult to make it. Do you think that the gasoline necessary for the band to get to your city, or their instruments and other gadgets are free as well?)

In this review for one of the best rated albums of the year, the music critic includes a plea to Pony Bravo fans similar to that heard on public radio. The author mentions the many costs that such a great production requires, implicating the listeners' responsibility in sustaining this public service. The message essentially expresses that the expenses incurred to bring Pony Bravo´s music to all parts of Spain should be shouldered by all fans if they wish to continue to receive work of this caliber.

One has to wonder if Pony Bravo will continue to offer their subsequent albums for free download after so much success and praise. It seems to be the very core ethic of the band. Many of Pony Bravo´s online pronouncements side with the people on issues of piracy, intellectual property rights, etc. For instance, Pony Bravo posted a link on their Facebook page to the documentary *RiP!: A Remix Manifesto* several times during 2010.[252] In addition, Pony Bravo has licensed the majority of their music and photomontage artwork under copyleft.[253] That said, by the end of the noughties, Pony Bravo has reached a level of indie fame that could potentially support them, allowing them to drop their day jobs, if they were to sell their album even at a discounted price. Pony Bravo has taken an openly political position on the issue of free public access to cultural products. Their stance, while costing them financially, has endeared them to their many fans. Above all, their position on this issue is helping to open a national dialogue on the future direction of art as commodity.

Canteca de Macao was able to release their most recent albums under the traditional copyright format (through Warner Music Spain), while offering the discs for free via their website.[254] With their first album, *Cachai*, the band used a Creative Commons licensing, but had not been able to return to this form of licensing due in part

[252] *RiP!: A Remix Manifesto* was a 2008 open source documentary film by Brett Gaylor about "the changing concept of copyright" (Kirsner). The film delves into the origins and history of copyrights in music publications while revealing the inherent hypocrisy of its very nature. Many of the labels and bands who own much of the publishing rights to ´original´ works had themselves copied musical creations that were previously part of the public domain.

[253] Copyleft, or Creative Commons, is a form of licensing which can be used to establish and hold copyright conditions for works such as art, software, documents, etc. Under copyleft, the author implicitly gives anyone who receives a copy of a specific work the permission to reproduce, adapt or distribute it, with the only requirement being that any copies or adaptations that result from the original work be bound by the same licensing agreement. This can be compared to standard copyright law which prohibits any adaption, reproduction, and/or distribution of the author's original work.

[254] Visit www.cantecademacao.org for a free download of any of the band´s albums.

to label constraints which has left some of their fans a bit uneasy.[255] Canteca de Macao have recently decided to part ways with Warner Music Spain in order to retain more freedom with respect to production, distribution, and licensing. However, their membership in the SGAE has impeded them from using Creative Commons licensing. Canteca de Macao would like to see the SGAE recognize (via the revamping of the organization´s contractual agreements) the proliferation of Creative Commons licensing usage by many of its members:

> Las licencias Creative Commons, no están reñidas con la existencia de una entidad de gestión de los derechos de autor. El problema es que la única entidad española a estos efectos, la SGAE, se acoge a un copyright muy cerrado que no permite…compartir la música sin fines comerciales. Nosotros tratamos de decir: estamos en SGAE y por lo tanto recibimos dineros de nuestros derechos de autor, pero queremos decidir cuándo, cómo y por parte de quién. No tiene sentido que nos prohíban ceder de manera gratuita nuestra propia música cuando queramos y de momento no ha sido así, ya que seguimos haciéndolo. Lo ideal sería que la SGAE funcionara con licencias Creative Commons, mediante las cuales el autor pudiera decidir si reserva todos los derechos de su obra, sólo algunos o ninguno. Esta es nuestra postura, pero aún no tiene forma legal, por eso no podemos proclamarnos ni copyleft ni copyright, estamos en un punto intermedio que aún no existe. (Saboya, "Re: entrevista")

[255] For an example of the polemic created by this change in licensing, see "Han estado con nosotros Canteca de Macao" in *Elmundo.es*. The article is part of a series sponsored by the online version of the Spanish daily *El Mundo* in which fans of the band can submit their own interview questions. Many of the questions were framed in light-hearted praise for the musical contribution of the group. The setup for one question, for instance, began with the following encouragement: "me alegro de que hayais llegado tan arriba, solo espero que ahora no os corrompais, la verdad es que representáis los ideales de muchos jóvenes de hoy, la cultura es de todos no de los que tienen dinero!!" ("Han estado con nosotros…Canteca de Macao") (I'm happy that you have gotten so far, I just hope that you don't get corrupted now, the truth is you represent the ideals of many young people today, culture is for everyone, not just for those who have money!!) Others were grounded in a vitriolic attack on the new, more corporate trajectory of Canteca de Macao: "una pregunta: ¿no os parece hipócrita cantar lo que cantáis y luego dejaros promocionar por cocacola, ir a universidades privadas, etc (¿es el acceso a la cultura sólo para unos pocos es lo que promulgais?)" ("Han estado con nosotros…Canteca de Macao") (one question: don't you think it a bit hypocritical to sing what you sing and then let yourselves be part of a Coca-Cola promotional campaign, go to private universities, etc. (Is access to culture only for a select few what you are promoting?)) This public-oriented interview provides interesting insight with regards to indie concepts of authenticity as espoused by the band´s Spanish fans.

> (Creative Commons licenses are not incompatible with the existence of an entity that manages royalties. The problem is that the only Spanish organization of this kind, the SGAE, sticks to a very narrow vision of the copyright which does not permit a band to share its music for non-commercial ends. We try to say: we are SGAE members, and therefore we receive money from our copyrighted material, but we want to decide when, how, and from whom. It doesn´t make sense to prohibit us from giving away our own music for free whenever we want. For the moment it is not a problem, as we continue to do so. Ideally, the SGAE would function with some Creative Commons license features in which the author could decide whether she reserves all rights to her work, only some, or none. This is our position, which is as yet non-existent within the current [SGAE] framework. So we cannot proclaim ourselves as copyleft or copyright, we are in some middle ground that still does not exist.)

The complaint is that the SGAE is restricting its members´ rights to choose the way they do business because the company has failed to keep up with the changing nature of the digital age and its inherent demand on the Spanish artist.

This Spanish indie musician is thus caught between two worlds. With respect to marketing a specific image, the band must consider the fact that the majority of national fans see a mark of artistic authenticity in the disinterest in material gains. Lesser-known indie bands actually rely on the option of offering a free digital download in order to rapidly disseminate a new album. Bands such as Canteca de Macao, which already have a dedicated fan base, know that when they release an album, a digital copy will be available almost immediately on websites like Pirate Bay. They have recognized the fact that most of their national fans, if not given the free digital download option, will download it via one of these sites anyway. The group can save face as an authentic indie outfit by giving away a digital copy of its albums via their website. The new free album has the dual function as a marker of authenticity as well as a marketing tool to promote live shows. The money sacrificed by offering this option can potentially be recouped by

ticket sales for live performances. Groups such as Canteca de Macao can also sell merchandise (including the physical version of their new album) at each show.

A further benefit of Creative Commons licensing is the legal provision for the end user to create a remix or a mash-up using parts of a song produced by a band such as Canteca de Macao. This has also proven to be a remarkable marketing opportunity for indie bands as a partial version of the song occasionally ends up being more successful than the original. This naturally draws a new set of fans. The difficulty comes in maintaining membership in an organization that prohibits the band from engaging in said activities. So the musician often must either choose between SGAE representation or going it alone--thereby rejecting the benefits of a company that would defend the band's authorial rights.

In addition to the philosophical problems with the SGAE, Spanish bands such as Pony Bravo and Canteca de Macao must also struggle with their own relatively new glass ceiling. Negligible album sales exacerbate the economic difficulties inherent of the tour: transporting, feeding, and housing several band members on an extremely limited budget. El Ultimo Grito, as a Spanish band in France, can at least rely on French subventions for the French musicians they employ—Stephán Perón and Xavier Sibre. These two are considered *intermitentes de la cultura* (intermittent cultural workers). Provided Perón and Sibre are earning a minimum prerequisite of fees as semi-professional cultural workers, they will receive a base salary from the French government when out of work. El Ultimo Grito is then more easily able to sell their album at a discounted price, or offer tracks for free download. They are currently doing both. The Spanish government offers

no such unemployment subsidy for cultural workers. The proceeds from sales of merchandise and tickets for the live shows of a band like Pony Bravo are, for the most part, insufficient to build an economic base with which to tour internationally—still a prerequisite for any Spanish indie band hoping to make it big on the global scene. The lucrative contracts are always just out of reach. Although the band may be signed by the Spanish branch of one of the big four, the international indie music gatekeepers (Pitchfork, etc.)—those tastemakers who could catapult the band into the realm of global indie or electronic stardom--are not sending their critics to Madrid. The Spanish indie musician and the Spanish government are each marked by their incapacity to create economically viable mechanisms with which to successfully escape the national downward spiral of cultural product price equilibrium. El Ultimo Grito, Canteca de Macao, Pony Bravo, as well as other Iberian indie bands, are making waves via their political position on open, public access to cultural products. The future of these endeavors is yet to be seen.

For the purposes of this study, the topic opens an interesting array of questions as to the roles of Portuguese and Spanish government and those of the respective urban neofolk bands. When the local and national governments neglect to encourage and promote the kind of cultural work performed by groups like OqueStrada or Canteca de Macao, they are denying their youngest, most readily influenced generations an easy access point to local knowledge. This endangers Iberian culture. If Spanish and Portuguese governments were actively aware of this potential problem, they would realize that local knowledge is not so effortlessly passed from generation to generation as

it was in the past. Most of these kids are not reading Pessoa or Lorca. They are not watching films by Oliveira or Saura. They are not visiting the Gulbenkian or the Prado. They are not listening to Amália or Mairena, and they haven´t been for generations now. Read any hot current Iberian novelist, or watch any contemporary Iberian film that presents a real depiction of the national youth today: Most of them could care less about the Spanish Civil War or the Carnation Revolution. Most of them could tell you more about Lady Gaga than Lola Flores or Lucilia do Carmo. In order to preserve a sense of historical patrimony for the next generation (assuming they indeed want to), the Iberian governments must meet these citizens halfway, via the instruments of popular culture that embrace elements of the national culture. It isn´t a question of whether or not these governments should embrace and encourage the kind of art produced by neofado and neoflamenco bands. The answer is obvious. The question is whether or not it is in the interest of neofado and neoflamenco bands to accept this embrace and allow for such co-optation and collaboration. State support does not necessarily always equate to an artist compromising his or her creative freedom, nor does the lack of state support guarantee total artistic liberty. Present-day market forces within the international indie scene can be vicious, tempting the indie band to reproduce a music that has already been market-tested as profitable. But if profitability were a primary concern for the groups I study here, they probably wouldn´t have even considered dabbling in Iberian urban folk in the first place since even the most famous flamenco and fado performers don´t enjoy a substantial market share within the international music industry. The hybrid neoflamenco and neofado scenes represent a labor of love combined with complex and diverse socio-

political stances that often embrace local issues from a globalized awareness and perspective. Whether or not these groups ever receive adequate remuneration for their creations, in the guise of subsidies or sales, will be revealed in time as local and national consumers, corporations, and congressmen deem it worthy of the ever-scarcer Euro. The upside of such Iberian economic scarcity, for stalwarts within the scene, is that less money circulating means less indie neoflamenco and neofado competition. As authenticity has become increasingly linked to indie neofado and neoflamenco longevity, the ability and desire of any band to survive such hard times may be the only true test of its mettle.[256]

The majority of the groups that I have studied in this chapter share another commonality in that the two groups I focus on (Canteca de Macao and OqueStrada) are female-led. There is a pronounced lyrical preoccupation amongst these female musicians with the political issues revolving around free access to culture, institutional support of the arts, and enlightened local and national economic sustainability. In the following chapter, I look at the ways another set of female neoflamenco and neofado musicians address issues both political and social in nature: the role of gender in contemporary national and international society.

[256] This sentiment was expressed to me by the Portuguese radio DJ Henrique Amaro: "as coisas quando são serias duram tempo, fazem mais tentativas. Os Dead Combo tem quatro o cinco discos. Vão fazer um novo. A chatice--o desilude--é quando se tenta um caminho ´vamos fundir, vamos colocar a nós MPC e meter aqui uma guitarra portuguesa e por aqui uns beats com MPC e vamos fazer aquilo fado moderno e vamos descobrir um novo caminho para o fado. Ah, não teve receptividade, então vamos fazer versões dos anos 80.´ Isso é oportunismo, não há essência nisso" (Amaro) (When [these bands] are serious they last, they keep trying. Dead Combo has four or five albums. They are going to do another one. The annoyances--the disappointments—come when a band tries out an idea like 'let's form a group with a MPC (Music Production Center), throw in a little Portuguese guitar here, some MPC beats there, and we will make modern fado, we will make a new path for fado.' [Later on they say] 'ah, it wasn't well-received so let's do an 80s cover band.' This is opportunism. There is no vitality in this).

Chapter 6
Unmasking the Neoflamenco and Neofado Female

Table 6
La Shica, Mil i Maria, and Deolinda: Members, Dates, Places, Albums, Sub-Genres, and Influences

Band Name (Location, Year Formed)	Members (Instruments)	Albums (Label, Year Published)	Sub-Genres	Primary Influences
La Shica (Madrid, 2004)	La Shica (vocals, *castañets*, *tacones*), Pablo Martín Jones (percussion), Fernando de la Rua (flamenco guitar), Aleix Tobias (drums), David Escudero (electric guitar), Miguel Rodrigáñez (double bass), Luca Germini (scratching), Josete Ordónez (additional guitars), Cristina G. Poliz and Ana Romero (backing vocals), Luís Domerq (lyrical composition)	*Trabajito de chinos* (Dro Atlantic, 2008), *Supercop* (Warner Music Spain, S.L., 2010)	flamenco, copla, hip hop, pop, rumba rock, tango, hardcop (aka *copla dura*)	Lola Flores, Diego Carrasco, Bjork , Enrique Morente, Manolo Caracol, Feist, 80s *movida madrileña* rock, Estrella Morente
Mil i Maria (Madrid, 2007)	María del Rocío Herrera Alonso (vocals and guitar), Robin Taylor-Firth (keyboards), Alba-Maia Taylor-Firth Lopez (backing vocals), Rawle Bruce (bass), Henrik Linnemann (flute), Rafael De La Torre Coca (guitar), Andrew 'Shovell' Lovell (percussion)	*Nadie es nadie* (Blanco Music, 2009)	flamenco, fado, indie folk rock, grand chanson	Edith Piaf, Amália Rodrigues, Estrella Morente, Indigo Girls, Ani Difranco
Deolinda (Lisbon, 2006)	Ana Bacalhau (vocals), José Pedro Leitão (double bass, vocals), Pedro da Silva Martins (classical guitar, vocals), and Luís José Martins (vocals, classical guitar, cavaquinho, guitalele, viola braguesa, ukelele)	*Canção ao lado* (iplay/World Connection, 2008), *Dois selos e um carimbo* (EMI Music Portugal, 2010), *Deolinda no coliseu dos recreios* (EMI Music Portugal, 2011), *Deolinda ao vivo no Coliseu dos Recreios* (Sons em trânsito, 2011), *Mundo pequenino* (Universal Music Portugal, 2013)	fado, indie pop, folk, morna, música popular brasileira, música de intervenção	António Variaçôes, Amália Rodrigues, Zeca Afonso, Madredeus, Elis Regina, Chico Buarque

Re-vision—the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes, of entering an old text from a new critical direction—is for women more than a chapter in cultural history: it is an act of survival. Until we can understand the assumptions in which we are drenched we cannot know ourselves…We need to know the writing of the past, and know it differently than we have ever known it; not to pass on a tradition but to break its hold over us.

Adrienne Rich
"When We Dead Awaken: Writing as Re-vision"
(1979)

This chapter investigates three subversive processes in neoflamenco and neofado: masking, unmasking, and narrative revision. The marginalized, countercultural actors have always had to hide their subversions. They could not risk the potential repercussions of their actions if they were caught. Under the watchful eye of a repressive regime, the communications of such subversives was typically protected through obfuscation in one of two ways: disguising the message or disguising the messenger. But in present-day Spain and Portugal, visible subversion is not only not repressed, but often collectively celebrated and commonplace. What purpose, then, does the mask (or for that matter the subversion itself) serve? How is the mask subversively used nowadays by female neoflamenco and neofado performers?

In this chapter I consider the distinct ways in which three Iberian indie urban neofolk groups, La Shica, Mil i Maria, and Deolinda, wrestle with their identities and roles as Spanish and Portuguese females and cultural leaders. Each one of these women toy with masking and unmasking devices for a purpose which I hope to elucidate over the course of this chapter. Their lyrical, musical, conceptual, and/or performative transgressions indeed require no concealment from the fully democratic and culturally open spheres in which they operate. They are, in effect, preaching to the choir. And yet,

this choir doesn't always fully understand their sermon. The use of the mask by La Shica, Mil i Maria, and Deolinda often actually reveals more about the choir to whom they preach than does the message itself. The distinct semiotics provided by these groups, whether delivered masked or unmasked, help to redefine and contextualize what it means to be a woman in twenty-first-century local, global, and glocal society. Beyond the mask, these hybrid musicians communicate such complex signification via bricolage, pastiche, and parody. In doing so, these hybrid musicians point beyond the transgressive mask so commonly employed during the modern and pre-modern eras without succumbing to the empty postmodern signification of random identity collage.

I begin this chapter with a study of La Shica's transgressive articulation of revisionary mythopoesis in the song "Supercopleras." I inform this investigation with insights from Rachel DuPlessis's *Writing beyond the Ending* (1985), William Washabaugh's *Flamenco: Passion, Politics, and Popular Culture* (1996), and Judith Butler´s *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990). The theoretical work of Judith Butler identifies and challenges the way in which the woman as juridical subject is a political construction that has been historically normalized. Butler seeks to understand how the category of the woman has been produced and restrained by the very structures of power through which the feminist struggle for emancipation is sought. She explores the process whereby the code of what it is to be a woman is reproduced socially and defied individually by female actors who reject such concrete identity politics. Butler´s contribution to this field is critical to understanding how gender can be denaturalized by the kinds of performances which highlight the

creation of such political constructions of gender. La Shica and Mil i Maria both work into their performances the undoing of naturalized gender identities by playing with the icons of typical gender stereotypes. Whereas La Shica subverts notions of a nationalist gender, Mil i Maria highlights the hypocritical dichotomies that underlie Western perceptions of global female oppression and liberty. Rachel DuPlessis enriches this analysis via a useful historical context and theoretical framework with which to understand the international female struggle for self-representation. When La Shica writes beyond the ending of the traditional flamenco heroine, she is following in the footsteps of a long tradition of subversive female authors who, unsatisfied with the way in which their foremothers have been depicted by male authors, have engaged themselves with the task of rewriting their gender´s fictional representation. This is not revisionist history, but revisionist historical fiction. I also refer to Washabaugh's investigation of the obscured body politics of flamenco in order to better grasp the history of the inclusion and exclusion of the female throughout the evolution of the traditional scene. Washabaugh's analysis of the early evolution of flamenco performance posits that male flamenco performers established a musical culture that was progressively marked as male, but was ontologically female.

María del Rocío Herrera Alonso, singer-songwriter for the band, Mil i Maria, is a neoflamenco musician whose theatrical live performances interweave simple visual and auditory entertainment with profound statements and rhetorical questioning regarding dominant hegemony and marginal identity. This musical theater challenges the spectator to investigate what it means to be a Spanish, European, and global woman today. Mil i

Maria songs like "Pantera" reinforce her performative inquiries by lyrically challenging the dominant, patriarchal ideologies embedded in the very structures of the Spanish language itself. Finally, I analyze the Mil i Maria track, "Y si…" (And If…)--a lyrical pilgrimage into the hypothetical journey/downward spiral of a woman who deliberately reaches the depths of self-abnegation in order to please her lover. We identify with the protagonist's desire to please her lover only up to a point, before we slowly begin to realize that María has been leading us all along down a slippery slope: How different is the abnegation of a part of the self from that of the whole?

The remainder of the chapter is dedicated to the neofado band, Deolinda. Deolinda presents a more understated subversion via an interesting combination of lullaby and indie-bubblegum-fado-pop musical creation. This innocent form disguises a politically charged content. Some of the lyrics performed by ex-jazz-punk neofadista, Ana Bacalhau, become strikingly caustic coming from such a seemingly harmless personage. Bacalhau's performative theatrics, stage banter, and spritely intonations recall the tactics employed by a kindergarten school teacher attempting to keep the listless attention of her young audience. In the case of Deolinda, the modern mask will be seen to still have an important function in an open, fully democratic postmodern society. As we will see, Bacalhau indeed had to rewrite her own biographical narrative—a metamorphosis from fado-jazz punker to indie folk-pop darling. Bacalhau's cultivated innocence is a disguise which is reinforced by the band's musical mask of the twee, together serving effectively as visual/sonic opium for her young and old, liberal and conservative, Portuguese audience. As the performance, music and vocal intonation lulls,

the lyrics subtly prick. Imagine Johnny Rotten performing Barney for an adult audience. Now subtract the irony you have already assumed. That is to say, Rotten can't just be his usual rotten self underneath the purple dinosaur costume. In this hypothetical scenario, Rotten must perform Barney *as Barney in all aspects*. How then does the acidic punk express to his audience his subversive acrimony? He must find a mix of lyrics that seems Barneyesque (inoffensive, innocuous, innocent) and then twist it--without rage, without insult, without profanity—until an unsuspecting, captivated public begins to murmur to themselves "hey…I *too* wanna be anarchy."

If Deolinda's sound and image are opiates for the ears and eyes, the band's lyrics are an adrenaline shot to the mind. The band names itself after the fictional young fado-loving Portuguese girl it created. Deolinda is portrayed as a cartoon on the first two of the band´s album covers. The band's lyrics are written from her innocent perspective as she observes contemporary Portuguese life. Nevertheless, the point of view of this cartoonish little girl is far from naïve. Deolinda's outlook projects an innocent reflection on the state of the nation which, nevertheless, occasionally culminates as a powerfully subversive challenge to the dominant order. Her adolescent insight, as voiced by Bacalhau, has helped to form the foundation of an entire Portuguese youth movement which has taken to the street in protest over the turn-of-the-decade Portuguese economic crisis and externally imposed austerity measures.[257] Several national journalists have pointed to this protest movement as a template for the Spanish *indignados* and, therefore,

[257] The 2011 March Portuguese protests, led by the *geração à rasca* (generation scraping by), was considered to be inspired in part by the global Arab Spring and in part by the Deolinda song "Que parva que eu sou" (How Stupid I Am). For more information on the influence of this Deolinda track on the *Geração à Rasca* protests see the *Diário de Notícias* article "Deolinda, o grupo que dá voz à ´geração à rasca´" (Lusa).

the U.S. occupy movements.[258] Was this fictional little girl in part responsible for a globally widespread youth revolt?

"Ours is a Hardcore Copla": Disobeying the Copla à La Shica

Fig. 29. La Shica. Photograph by La Shica, 28 July 2012, JPEG.

La Shica, born in Ceuta in 1976 as Elsa Rovayo, originally moved to Madrid to study flamenco dance. Performing in various companies and *tablaos* throughout her twenties, Elsa decided in 2004 to pursue a career that could incorporate her interest in dance with her desire to sing. She found the *tablao* scene too rigid for the kind of experimentation that she had in mind. La Shica believed that the twenty-first-century Spanish indie and hip hop music scenes would be more open to the hybrid style she had been envisioning shortly after moving to Madrid. She also realized, however, that the same scene was highly competitive and poorly remunerated. In order to prevent herself from giving up too quickly, Rovayo shaved her head, knowing she wouldn´t be able to

[258] See the *Jornal de Notícias* article "´Geração à rasca´ é referência para Espanha" for an example of the perceived influence of Portuguese protest roots on the Madrid-based 15M *indignados* movement. Likewise, for an example of the perceived influence of the 15M *indignados* influence on the Occupy Wall Street protest see the *Reuter´s* article "Wall Street action part of global ´Arab Spring´?" (Apps).

return to the better-paying flamenco *tablaos* at least until her hair grew fully back. In short time, Rovayo, now as La Shica, discovered that she actually had nothing to worry about since there existed a sizeable Madrid audience for her work. La Shica found a considerable following outside of the capital as well. By 2010, she had already become an accomplished singer, working with such flamenco performing stars as Miguel Poveda as well as with top-tier producers like Javier Limón who produced her album *Supercop*. La Shica also collaborated in another Limón production, *Mujeres de Agua*, with such Iberian stars as Mariza, Estrella Morente, and Concha Buika.[259]

Onstage, La Shica incorporates both flamenco and modern dance while musically integrating flamenco and copla with rap and hip hop. La Shica claims that the hybridity she embodies with every aspect of her live performances comes as the natural result of growing up immersed in all of these musical and dance scenes. She does not see this hybrid combination as unnatural or forced, but rather as the only kind of performance she could imagine creating. La Shica goes as far as to claim that rap and flamenco share many fundamental traits in common:

> Siempre se ha rapeado. Lo que tiene en común lo hip hop americano y el flamenco es que son músicas de la calle y donde la rítmica es muy importante. El flow y el soniquete, es lo mismo. Diferente idioma pero es la misma palabra. Entonces siempre se ha hecho. La rítmica en el flamenco… casi es más importante está bien de ritmo que afinar…Cuando una baila ahora, el resto de sus compañeras siempre dicen cosas para ayudarla a tener fuerza bailando, y eso es rap. (Rovayo)
>
> (Rapping has been done forever. What American hip hop has in common with flamenco is that it is music of the street, where the rhythm is very important.

[259] *Mujeres de Agua*, involving various flamenco, fado, and neoflamenco (as well as other) stars, represented "una búsqueda de canciones por el mediterráneo--son joyas que estaban sin descubrir" ("Há estado con nosotros…Javier Limón") (a search for songs across the Mediterranean--undiscovered jewels).

> Flow and *soniquete* is really the same thing.[260] It is the same word said in a different language. So it is nothing new. The rhythm in flamenco...it´s almost more important than being in tune...When you dance now, others involved [performers as well as spectators] always say things to encourage your dancing, and that's rap.)

The communal sharing of the performance--whether it be audible vocal encouragement to the dancer, singer, or musician; whether it be a rhythmic assistance in the form of the *palmas* of the flamenco audience or the human beat box of the early rap scene--is, according to La Shica, a product of both traditions coming from their shared cultural roots in the street performance. La Shica emphasizes this generic connection during her live performances as well as in her lyrics. La Shica strives to unveil a variety of international and intergeneric associations throughout her albums. La Shica covered a *sevillanas de Lebrija palo* (titled "Sevillanas de la liebre") on her 2010 release *Supercop* in order to show that flamenco origins are indeed not so distant from the rap she regularly performs:[261] "Me apetecía hacer una versión de un rap antiguo, a ver si la gente empieza a creerme cuando digo que yo lo que rapeo es de aquí" (Rovayo) (I wanted to do a version of an old [flamenco] rap song to see if people would start to believe me when I say that the rap I perform is from here).

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[260] *Soniquete* is a term often used in flamenco to describe the action and effect of flamenco meter and rhythm. It is a neologism which describes the graceful internal flamenco rhythm performed by the flamenco *zapateo*, *palmas*, vocals, guitar, etc. The *zapateo* is a kind of flamenco tap dancing which varies in speed and force according to the *palo*. The various kinds of *zapateo* include *buleaeros, alegrías, soleá, tanguillos, fandangos, punteados, martilleo de puntera, cruzado en línea, desplazamiento con zapateo*, and *escobillas* (Gamboa and Nuñez 608-609).

[261] The *sevillanas* is a flamenco *palo* descendent of the Castilian *seguidilla* and Seville-based folk music/dance. The style dates back to 1779 as a music form distinct from the *seguidillas* (first mentioned in a poem by the Conde de Noroña titled *La Quincaida*). The *seguidilla* is a major-key, fast-paced, triple-time folk song which has been popular across Spain for centuries. Its lyrical structure of four-verse stanzas (with the first and third verses composed of seven syllables and the second and fourth verses composed of five syllables) with an ABAB rhyme scheme forms the basis of numerous Iberian folk styles. (Gamboa and Nuñez 510-517).

In the performance I saw at Teatro Galileo on March 26th, 2011, La Shica sang and danced hyrbidity: flamenco, copla, rock, rap, and hip hop. The performance begins with La Shica holding the *abanico* above her head in picture-perfect statuesque flamenca rigidity.[262] Her left arm forms a right angle at the elbow, hand caressing hip, while her right arm slowly begins to twirl the fan above her head. As the right arm descends, La Shica seductively fans herself, casts the arm out in the silhouette of a half-moon before collapsing the prop into itself and beginning to sing "La bien pagá." La Shica casts the abanico aside and concentrates exclusively on capturing the tone of this classic copla song for the next two minutes. La Shica holds the final vocal of "La bien pagá" through a culminating vibrato before it is collapsed and cast aside much like the fan before it. As the music accompaniment breaks down, La Shica starts in on a rapid-fire *zapateado* to a minimalist skeleton beat of the copla classic. La Shica then employs her several years of flamenco dance experience, keeping rhythm with her feet, clapping, and pounding her thighs and chest to a beat that speeds up exponentially with each measure. As the band progresses from *moderato* to *prestissimo*, they simultaneously increase in pitch and volume. La Shica matches this transition by moving from *zapateado* to a hybrid modern-flamenco-breakbeat dance style which seems to teeter on the brink of collapse until, suddenly, she freezes along with the music: her right leg bent at the knee at 45 degrees, her left leg caught in a brief moment of solitary tap. She then whips a pirouette and returns her arms back to the original rigid form with which she began. The audience eats it up. La Shica allows a few seconds of applause before signaling a transition into

[262] The *abanico*, a Spanish version of the hand-held fan, is intimately connected with traditional national (and specifically Andalusian and flamenco) femininity.

rhythmic rim shots and inaudible *pitos* (finger snapping). The guitar and bass enter again as La Shica returns to a rapid *zapateado*. Finally, La Shica again approaches the microphone, but not to sing "La bien pagá." Instead she raps through her own take on the song which she refers to as "El rap de la bien pagá." During a brief Primus-like musical interlude, La Shica headbangs while air-hammering her imaginary slap bass. Her new abandon seems part Claypool, part Flea. The pace quickens between alternations of all three musical references ("La bien pagá," "El rap de la bien pagá," and Primus sludge) until all music finally stops, leaving La Shica to scream the lyric "Yo soy la bien pagá!" while dropping back her head and raising her right fist as the music returns to a final, stadium-rock style culmination. La Shica´s improvisational theatrical approach to the Teatro Galileo spectacle included stage props, audience interaction, and an intimate closer in which all members (even the percussionist, Pablo Martín Jones) walked offstage while continuing to play.[263]

La Shica´s lyrics address contemporary issues (casual sex, the liberated and empowered Spanish woman, urban hybrid subculture life) while her references are steeped in nineteenth- and twentieth-century flamenco lore, often voicing both realities simultaneously. For instance, songs such as "Supercopleras" challenge the stereotypical role of the Andalusian woman by reimagining three female copla protagonists from a contemporary perspective. This combination of lyric, music, and spectacle, rearticulating a national semiotic that all generations of Spaniards can decode, allows La Shica to

[263] Jones, while playing the *cajón* (an Afro-Peruvian box-shaped percussion instrument that was originally adopted into the world of flamenco by renowned guitarist Paco de Lucía in the 1970s), technically did not walk, but rather scooted himself offstage by dragging the instrument with his buttocks.

attract a mixed fan base in all aspects: gender, race, age, socioeconomic status, etc. Performing live, La Shica offered fans of traditional flamenco a rapid *zapateo* which matches an equally fast lyrical output. La Shica would also occasionally demonstrate her modern dance skills, contrasting the fluid movement of her body by interweaving the rapid staccato click of her castanets. Likewise, La Shica´s entire Teatro Galileo show was a visual tapestry of national signs of traditional and modern Spanish femininity. La Shica seduces the audience with the classic posture of the female flamenco dancer, her eyes just cresting above the abanico betraying a faint smile underneath--the smile of a woman who realizes she has effortlessly captivated her target. The hand-held fan is slowly lowered, and the audience suddenly notices that she is wearing a thick black mustache.

This subversive play with national-gender stereotypes was not invented by La Shica. Although Spanish cross-dressing undoubtedly preceded the Franco dictatorship, the first recorded documentation of such phenomena would not occur until nearly three years after the Generalíssimo's death with the 1978 documentary film *Ocaña, retrato intermitente* (*Ocaña, an Intermittent Portrait*) directed by the Catalán Ventura Pons. The film depicted a Barcelona transvestite, José Peréz Ocaña, assuming the clichéd representation of the traditional Spanish woman.

Fig. 30. Still from the documentary *Ocaña, retrato intermitente* (Ocaña, Intermittent Portrait) (Pons, 1978).

Such a subversive representation of national/gender identities served as a crucial reminder to Pons´s audience that Ocaña was merely playing a combination of identity roles just like anyone else--indeed just like Franco played the role of Spanish male caudillo: Ocaña´s national identity was Spanish, her regional identity Andalusian, her gender identity female, etc. Ocaña´s transgressive gender performance rearticulates the Francoist discourse of idyllic Spanish folkloric womanhood--achieved through the simple adoption of traditionally feminine accessories: the carnation behind the ear, the mantilla, and the abanico:

> The film is both a celebration of the conversion of life into performance and—as its subtitle implies—a subversion of the realist documentary genre deconstructing fixed gender identities…Ocaña´s female/male gaze is both seductive and defiant, reproducing but also subverting traditional gender roles. The contrived nature of her/his pose also makes the point that gender is a construction which perhaps cannot be escaped but can at least be manipulated at will. (Labanyi 399-401)

Pons´s documentary was released in the same year that Spain established itself as a constitutional monarchy. The captivating documentary is a drastic liberal break from the then still deeply entrenched conservative ideology produced by the Franco regime. Such

a picture was quite a risky venture for Ocaña and Pons as the Ley de peligrosidad social (the law of social danger) remained as part of a national legal agenda--a useful justification for the occasionally violent conservative repression of such homosexual, transsexual, and transgender expression. Pedro Almodóvar would likewise perform a similar subversive transgression of traditional nationalist gender categories just a few years later during the heyday of the *movida madrileña* before pushing the boundaries of conservative tolerance even further through the medium of film.[264] In Almodóvar´s fourth film release, *¿Qué he hecho para merecer esto?* (1984), the auteur makes a rare cameo to sing the Ramón Perelló-penned copla classic "La bien pagá" while dressed as a Spanish Hussar. His performance is at once an interlude within the central plot while serving as a surrealist juxtaposition of various perspectives, eras, genres, and genders. Almodóvar the director is little more that a cameo extra for the viewer of *¿Qué he hecho para merecer esto?*, but he is (if only for a moment) the focal point of the viewer within the film as she glances at the television show for which he performs. So the film viewer watches the *madrileña* housewife Gloria watch Almodóvar and is cognizant that, while shooting, Almodóvar also watched Gloria watch Almodóvar. His dress recalls a long legacy of Spanish military victories and defeats. The scene combines the mid-twentieth-century Hollywood historical epic film with its contemporaneous Spanish musical melodrama. The copla here is diagetic for Almodóvar´s audience within his meta-scene as well as within the scene of *¿Qué he hecho para merecer esto?*

[264] See the video for the Almodóvar & McNamara song "Gran Ganga" for one example.

La Shica continues in the spirit of her subversive predecessors, improvising the embodiment of all things Spanish throughout her live show: as flamenco femme fatale, as macho bullfighter, as modern regionalist or feminist rebel, as throwback Andalusian kitsch kid, etc. At the same time, she provides the millennial generation of Spaniards with entertaining, picaresque, realist, ironic, and/or sensual depictions of life as a *mileurista*.[265] La Shica desires to maintain a very distinct Spanish imagery while avoiding any aspect of national identity which could be considered by the self-conscious young Spaniard as cheesy or uncool: "Visualmente intento que sea muy español, pero de una manera que…la juventud española (que tiene una especie de fobia a lo español) pueda entrar y sentirse cómoda, y sentirse orgullosa, y sentirse identificada sobre todo. Alguien joven que escuche "La bien pagá" y se emocione: ¿Cómo hacerlo? Quitarle prejuicio, quitarle ese puto hortera" (Rovayo) (Visually I try to make it very Spanish, but in a way that ... the Spanish youth (who have a sort of phobia of anything Spanish) can come and feel comfortable and proud and, above all, represented. A young person can listen to "La bien pagá" and get excited about it: How is that possible? By removing his or her prejudice, by taking out the fucking tackiness). This is the challenge for the majority of the Iberian bands studied here: To rework the image of the nation--

[265] *Mileurista* is a term used in Spain to denote any Spanish citizen who earns 1,000 Euros or less per month. According to the author Espido Freire (who wrote two in-depth sociological studies on the phenomena), the term *mileurista* was first coined in a letter to the Spanish daily *El País* (dated August 21st, 2005) by one Carolina Alguacil (italics added by Freire): "Carolina indicaba que el mileurista era *aquel joven, de 25 a 34 años, licenciado, bien preparado, que habla idiomas, tiene posgrados, másteres y cursillos*. Su experiencia laboral, que al menos se extendía durante tres o cuatro años, se nutría de trabajos no remunerados, contratos temporales y la imposibilidad de cotizar a la Seguridad Social. Su sueldo, sin pagas extras, no superaba los mil euros mensuales" (11) (Carolina indicated that the mileurista was *that young person, between the age of 25 to 34, with a University degree, well-educated, multilingual, having postgraduate education, masters and extramural education*. For work experience, which lasted for at least three to four years, she fed herself on internships, temporary work contracts, unable to ever make contributions to her Social Security. Her salary, discounting bonuses, never exceeded 1,000 Euros per month).

mining all of its hybrid potential--in a way that encourages the younger generations to, culturally speaking, look inward for artistic inspiration and creation. La Shica exemplifies this effort as she consciously conjures the beauty of the flamenco imagery, extracting a national essence while weeding out the elements that she knows members of her generation would consider cheap or distasteful. By reinventing a song like "La bien pagá," so rife with age-old Spanish cultural signifiers, La Shica positions herself simultaneously as a torch-bearer--carrying on what was—as well as a herald of what is yet to come.

The traditional music which La Shica most often references both lyrically and musically is the Andalusian copla. The Andalusian copla itself exemplifies the kind of hybridity that Holzinger terms "style-unification" given that, although today it is generally perceived as stylistically pure, the Andalusian copla was originally formed as a hybrid orchestral *zarzuela* performed with a pronounced flamenco influence on the vocals.[266] Although the lyrics of the Andalusian copla were often sung by female flamenco and copla musicians, the authors behind these lyrics were primarily men. The lyrics they composed addressed conventional Spanish themes such as honor, patriotism, family, religion, etc. The emotions invoked in the traditional Andalusian copla run the gamut: love, hate, hope, disappointment, jealousy, indifference, selfishness, generosity, sorrow, joy, regret, nostalgia, satisfaction, etc.

[266] The *zarzuela* is a lyrical-dramatic musical form, composed of scenes both spoken and sung, which dates back to eighteenth-century Spain. *Zarzuela* peaked amongst a wider Spanish audience during the nineteenth century, incorporating a mix of operatic and popular song, as well as regional dance. Flamenco draws several melodic (as well as harmonic, rhythmic, and thematic) influences from *zarzuela* tradition.

Regardless of the political or social perspective of many of the Andalusian copla authors, the end product necessarily served to reinforce the value system of right-wing authoritarianism throughout the three decades following the Spanish Civil War due to Franco-era censorship. If a mid-century Spanish lyricist wanted his copla to see the light of day, he would stick to the themes, plots, conflicts, and resolutions deemed acceptable by the regime at the time.[267] Another option was to mask a communication by composing highly coded lyrics and music that could avoid the censor´s stamp. This was a strategy also used in Portugal by subversive fado authors composing under the acute vigilance of the Salazar regime. As the prominence of Andalusian copla gave way to Anglophone rock and pop over the course of the 1960s (despite official attempts to stem this hedonistic foreign intrusion), the traditional form was increasingly ignored by Spanish youth. It wouldn´t be until long after many of the officials associated with Franco-era, ultra-conservative paternalism were dead that subversive Spanish musicians would begin to reconsider the potential of these popular songs as arbitrarily coded templates, ripe for alternative endings.

The rejection of the implicit discourse of dominant Spanish flamenco and copla narrative, as seen in songs penned by female neoflamenco musicians such as La Shica, highlight a shift in the place where traditional copla lyrics, written by men, meet twenty-

[267] The copla, as well as much of the flamenco, produced under Franco would tend toward a marked sentimentality and patriotism. Labanyi shows that the Franco regime saw all forms of social communication as ´text,´ censoring basically everything and everybody--even Franco himself: "No mention could be made of the following: individuals associated with the Republic; arrests, trials, executions; guerilla activity, strike action; the Royal Family; crimes, suicides, bankruptcies; stock exchange falls, devaluations; food and housing shortages, price rises; industrial and traffic accidents; epidemics, droughts, flood, or storm damage…Most unprintable of all was mention of the existence of censorship" ("Censorship or the Fear of Mass Culture" 209).

first-century international values interpreted by women. Rachel Blau DuPlessis has coined the term "writing beyond the ending" in which ending is considered "as a metaphor for conventional narrative, for a regimen of resolutions, and for the social, sexual, and ideological affirmations these make" (21). DuPlessis has examined the ways the nineteenth-century romance narrative had helped to solidify the conventions of the era which would have women reap what they sow, according to the ideas of poetic justice prevalent at the time. A virtuous woman would be rewarded by the end of these novels with the portrayal of a successful courtship or a happy marriage. A woman deemed sexually and/or socially immoral would receive her justice in death. DuPlessis contrasts the narrative resolutions of this era with the ways in which twentieth-century authors began to defy such social and narrative norms by offering alternative plots and endings to recognizable forms (i.e. removing the marriage plot from the center of the novel). DuPlessis examines various prose and poetic narrative strategies by twentieth-century female writers to reconsider the potential outcomes of several literary female archetypes. These approaches defy the traditional patriarchal power structures and empower both author and reconstructed narrative. DuPlessis considers the two primary tactics of revisionary mythopoesis to be via the *displacement* or *delegitimation* of any known tale:[268] "Narrative displacement is like breaking the sentence, because it offers the possibility of speech to the female in the case, giving voice to the muted. Narrative

[268] Although DuPlessis, in a chapter titled "'Perceiving the other-side of everything': Tactics of Revisionary Mythopoesis," gives primacy to female authors' rewriting of Graeco-Roman classics and Judeo-Christian biblical stories, she acknowledges the relevance of such revisionary work for any myth which affirms dominant culture. Myth is the field in which women writers are able to "forge an anticolonial mythopoesis, an attack on cultural hegemony as it is, which necessarily has included a vision of gender" (107). I investigate these tactics as used by La Shica to explore how a musician can challenge national-gender discourses which have been established not through the high art of elite culture, but that which is consumed nowadays to a much greater extent by the general masses: folk and pop culture.

delegitimation ´breaks the sequence´; a realignment that puts the last first and the first last has always ruptured conventional morality, politics, and narrative" (108).[269] Whereas displacement, then, is a narrative tactic which primarily plays with content (as it tends to rework the story itself), literary delegitimation addresses content as well as form since it is essentially the overhaul of the very plot of the myth. Narrative displacement reveals that perspective of the Other within a myth which has been traditionally suppressed or absent altogether. DuPlessis refers to narrative displacement as engaged in "a committed identification with Otherness—a participant observer's investigation of the claims of those parts of culture and personality that are taboo, despised, marginalized" (108). Delegitimation rewrites the ending, the middle, the beginning; swaps one for the other; interweaves one with another from a different text. It is Caliban's profane appropriation of Prospero's language. For Caliban, it is the form of Prospero's language which he is forced to use to accurse the dominant protagonist. For the woman writer, it is the form of men's myths which she must employ to undermine the very structures of male dominance.

The woman writer does not have to belong exclusively to the margins to participate in such a decolonization of narrative. One can identify simultaneously with dominant and marginalized cultures, as is the case with La Shica. Born in Ceuta, La

[269] DuPlessis places her own theoretical vocabulary (formulated independently) within that of her like-minded contemporaries: Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in "Explanation and Culture: Marginalia," *Humanities in Society* 2,3 (Summer 1979) and Stephen Heath in "Difference," *Screen* 19, 3 (1978): 99. For Spivak, the term *reversal* is equivalent to "the other side of narrative, and her term *displace* is parallel to the rupture of narrative sequence in my term *delegitimate*" (DuPlessis 226, italics in original). According to Stephen Heath: "The humanist gesture is to appeal to an unknown ´look of the woman´ to be given expression, the political—as in filmmaker [Laura] Mulvey—is to analyse the fact of 'look' and 'woman' in the structure of its definition and to appeal to the necessity to work to end that structure and the location of man/woman it operates" (qtd. in DuPlessis 226).

Shica moved from the periphery of Spain to its very center. She now lives and performs in Madrid, but does not identify herself (when performing) as either *madrileña* or *ceutí*. Instead La Shica frequently adopts a performative identity which is doubly marginalized within present-day Spain: firstly, as that associated with the Andalusian; secondly, as that associated with the stance of a certain "white trash" subculture within urban Andalusia. La Shica cultivates the former identity through her appropriation of the accent characteristic of the major Andalusian cities, especially that spoken in Seville and Cádiz: eliding the intervocalic /d/ and /r/, the *seseo*, the gemination or aspiration of the syllable-final /s/, the frequently aspirated or deleted /s/ at the end of a word, etc. Whereas the latter identity of urban, Andalusian "white trash" is maintained lyrically by La Shica, her live performances engage a variety of identities revolving around elite (ballet), popular (flamenco, copla), and mass (commercial indie, pop, rock, hip hop) cultural forms.

In La Shica's "Supercopleras," a track off the 2010 release of La Shica´s second album *Supercop*, the neoflamenca employs both of DuPlessis's tactics to celebrate the final triumph of the Spanish woman over centuries-old patriarchal hegemony and male-dominated discourses of gender. La Shica's displacement strategy gives a voice to the oppressed female subject of the 1930s- to 1950s-era copla and pasodoble. She begins and ends "Supercopleras" with a first-person monologue from the present-day, empowered perspective of two of the characters--la bien pagá (the well-paid) and la zarzamora (the blackberry), respectively. In between, La Shica omnisciently narrates the redemption of the third, la lirio (the lily), and gives simultaneous voice to all three in the chorus. La Shica's delegitimation tactics posit alternate realities for these iconic female

copla and pasodoble protagonists. She rewrites their endings, not as they were, but as they now would be. According to La Shica, "me molestaban estas historias de mujeres que están siempre infravaloradas…Entonces, lo que hicimos fue coger tres protagonistas de la copla antigua, tres mujeres muy desgraciadas: la bien pagá, la lirio y la zarzamora. Entonces imaginábamos si estas tres personas viviesen ahora como serían" (Rovayo) (I was annoyed with these stories of women who are always undervalued...So what we did was take three characters from the traditional copla, three very unfortunate women: la bien pagá, la lirio, and la zarzamora. We imagined what these three people would be like if they were around today). La Shica believes that the stories of these protagonists were probably based off of the real-life tragedy of three Spanish women, but admits not knowing the actual identity of any of them. Regardless, "Supercopleras" is not so much an attempt to redeem these historical figures as it is to abrogate--to delegitimate, as it were--the dichotomous Spanish Catholic imaginary of woman within the confines of the Mary Magdalene archetype (as whore) or Mother Mary archetype (as virtuous virgin and martyr) which the majority of these female copla protagonists have long represented.

Before analyzing Rovayo´s description of the twenty-first-century lives of these three protagonists in "Supercopleras," it is necessary to first see how their fate is described in the original version of each respective song. I begin with the Ramón Perelló copla "La bien pagá." La bien pagá is a prostitute who is abandoned by one of her best-paying customers. The client, a gypsy john, has fallen in love with another--a women, he explains, who gave him the only kiss he didn´t have to pay for. The lover´s spat culminates in the john´s tragic nostalgia:

Na´ te pido.	I don´t ask you for anything.
Na´ me llevo.	I take nothing with me.
Entre esas paredes	Between these walls
dejo sepulta´s	I leave buried
penas y alegrias	sorrows and joys
que te doy y me diste	that I give you and you gave me
y esas joyas	and these jewels
que ahora pa´ otro lucirás.	that now, for someone else, you will flaunt.

The *pasodoble* "La zarzamora" describes the tragic love adventures of a young girl who is so named because her eyes were like blackberries.[270] La zarzamora is the classic femme fatale, breaking the hearts of merchants and marquis alike. She is at first described singing a happy, flamenco song, but, by the second verse, she is mysteriously crying through an agonized copla. No one can figure out why the heartbreaker is now heartbroken. Rumor then spreads that she fell in love with a man who she later discovered was already engaged to someone else. The kiss this man gives la zarzamora bewitches her as it disgraces her.

Another *pasodoble*, "La lirio," depicts a protagonist whose tale, in a way, combines the two aforementioned tragedies. Like la zarzamora and la bien pagá, la lirio´s agency is compromised from the start: all three are renamed by someone else. La lirio´s nickname, like that of la zarzamora, is derived from a natural metaphor in reference to aspects relating to the eyes. Both epithets imply immediacy and sensual pleasure: the taste of the blackberry; the smell of the lily. Yet both suggest a disguised black soul. Their superficial, physical beauty is to be interpreted as betraying a profound,

[270] The Spanish *pasodoble* is a dance that accompanies music characterized by its simple march-like rhythmic structure. The *pasodoble* music is often used to heighten suspense during bullfights (i.e. when the bullfighter enters the ring or just before the kill), and so has evolved as a musical metaphor for Spain and a musical metonym for masculine bravura and dominance. *Pasodoble* music is occasionally used within flamenco performance but, as opposed to the more intimate a cappella *cantes a palo seco*, the *pasodoble* in flamenco is performed for larger audiences, and the singers are typically backed by a full orchestra.

intrinsic iniquity and ugliness. If the eyes are the window to the soul, then that of la zarzamora is sweet yet raven. La lirio´s nickname likewise evokes the contrast of the calla lily: a pale white petal which funnels the viewer inward toward its hidden darkness. Like la zarzamora, la lirio has fallen for some unknown man, in this case a sailor. Like la bien pagá, la lirio is supposedly distraught after the john to whom she had been prostituted is now absent from her life.[271] In contrast to la zarzamora, la lirio is the one who does the bewitching: within the final stanza la lirio is compared to a mint-sesame love potion which leads her Cuban trick/*novio* to wander singing in perpetual sorrow "de Cádiz a Almería…con una voz doloría" (Perelló) (from Cadiz to Almería…with an aching voice). In contrast to la bien pagá, it is la lirio who leaves her john. Yet it is la lirio who is perceived as the martyr in infinite sorrow. The sadness and sin are revealed in the purple bags under her eyes produced either from a surfeit of tears or a lack of sleep. La lirio´s anguish derives either from her sin as an innocent turned prostitute; from her loss of virginity (possibly by force depending on one´s interpretation of the role of the mysterious café-owner la Bizcocha); or from the loss of her *novio* (boyfriend) who, bewitched and bewildered, still sings of la lirio from Cadiz to Almería. Either way, la lirio (like la bien pagá and la zarzamora) fits into the dichotomy of just endings as described by DuPlessis.

[271] One of the primary differences between the lyrics of "La zarzamora" and those of "La bien pagá" and "La lirio" is that only in "La zarzamora" do we actually hear the perspective of the female protagonist, albeit still coming from the fantastical imagination of a male copla lyricist. As such, we only imagine la lirio in constant agony due to the way she is described by the sailors. With respect to la bien pagá, one can´t accurately interpret whether or not she is distraught, or indeed if she is even present at all. "La bien pagá" could just as well be interpreted as some monologue rant of a drunken *putero* as he drifts to sleep.

All three copla protagonists actually fit into just one of the categories that DuPlessis establishes: sexual and social failure. As DuPlessis demonstrates with respect to the nineteenth-century narrative, these social shortcomings would have "justly" resulted in death for all three:

> Death comes for a female character when she has a jumbled, distorted, inappropriate relation to the 'social script' or plot designed to contain her legally, economically, and sexually. Death is the result when energies of selfhood, often represented by sexuality, at once their most enticing and most damaging expression, are expended outside the 'couvert' of marriage or valid romance: through adultery…, loss of virginity or even suspected 'impurity'…, or generalized female passion…death occurs as a 'cosmic' or essentialist ending when a woman tests the social and historical rules governing the tolerable limits of her aspirations (DuPlessis 15-16).

Prostitution, adultery, and a loss of virginity--the respective sins of the three disgraced women described in these songs—rather than resulting in death, have an alternative "cosmic" ending. Apparently the lyricists of these compositions considered existential pain and social martyrdom as sufficient justice for the "crimes" of their protagonists. They are at times characterized as whores, at times as martyrs, and at times as both.

The tragic plotlines of the two Mary Magdalene/Mother Mary antiheroines, la lirio and la zarzamora, are actually quite similar in form. They were in fact composed by different combinations of the song writing team that epitomized the Andalusian copla of 1940s and 1950s Spain: Quintero, León y Quiroga.[272]

[272] The playwright, film script writer, and copla author Antonio Quintero Ramírez is best known for his compositions of popular songs for flamenco and copla icons such as Pepe Marchena, Imperio Argentina, Lola Flores, Concha Piquer, etc. Rafael de León was a poet, scriptwriter, and copla author. He is often associated with the Spanish Generación del 27 (Generation of 1927). León´s lyricism is marked by an interest in Andalusian Costumbrism, poeticizing the wit and grit of rural Andalusian culture. The prolific Manuel Quiroga composed the music for this trio. In addition to his collaboration with León and Quintero, Quiroga also penned over 5,000 musical compositions. Of the three songs studied here, "La lirio" was composed by León and Quiroga, and "La zarzamora" was a collaboration of all three. "La bien pagá" was

Unraveling the knots of this patriarchal lyrical legacy—that established by the prolific songwriting team, Quintero, León y Quiroga, as well as that created by myriad similar copla, pasodoble, and flamenco collaborations—is no easy task. Thus, La Shica counts on the contributions of a variety of open-minded musicians and poets as she slowly chips away at the deeply entrenched chauvinism of the flamenco and Andausian-copla cultural psyche. Lyrically, La Shica collaborates primarily with Luís Domerq to concoct songs that defy the conventional dichotomous vision of the Spanish female which had been reinforced for decades by a handful of twentieth-century male, copla, pasodoble, and flamenco composers. Her song "Supercopleras" dismantles and delegitimates the binary whore/virgin imagery by re-envisioning the three aforementioned protagonists alive and well today:

Me quité de bien paga.	I'm done with trading love for money.
Porque fortuna me sobra.	Because I´ve got plenty of fortune.
Ahora vivo del veneno	Now I live off the poison
porque soy carne de copla.[273]	because I am copla in the flesh.
Colmillo de seda fina,	Fine silk fangs,
corazón de kriptonita,	Kryptonite Heart,
la más bruta de las flores.	the roughest of the flowers,
del barro, la más bonita.	the prettiest in the mud.
La peineta tatua	She tatoos her peineta
como número de serie.[274]	like a bar code.
En el amor y las penas	In love and sorrow
me la juego a la interperie.[275]	I gamble it all out in the cold.

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just one of the many collaborations produced by another copla songwriting team, Ramón Perelló y Ródenas and Juan Mostazo Morales.

[273] *Carne de copla* here means "I'm the kind of woman that coplas talk about." The metaphor plays on the phrase *carne de cañón* (cannon fodder). The reference here romanticizes a kind of self-destructive behavior.

[274] The *peineta* is a large decorative comb that consists of a convex body and a set of teeth usually affixed to a tightly wound bun. Its origins are Spanish, but it is most frequently associated with Andalusian women and female flamenco performers. La Shica references the *peineta* here to indicate that she is a topical flamenca to the core. It would be similar to a country singer saying "I even had my cowboy hat tattooed to my head."

Pero al miedo no le presto	But as for fear I don´t give
ni una espina de mis huesos.	even a splinter of my bones.
Porque sé que no estoy sola	Because I know I am not alone
cuando me maten los besos.	when the kisses kill me.
Batallón de faraonas	A copla diva gang
que a la vida le hacen frente.[276]	that faces life bravely.
La receta es la juntera	The recipe joins together
de nuestra carne valiente.	our valient flesh.
Batallón de faraonas,	A copla diva gang,
las que se quieran sumar	those that wish to join together,
y estén libres de ataduras.	and those that are unbound.
Que lo nuestro es copla dura,	Ours is a hardcore copla,
y lo vamos a celebrar.	and this we will celebrate.
La lirio ya no es la lirio.	La lirio is no longer la lirio.
Se le cayeron las penas.	She dropped that sorrow.
Sólo llora cuando folla.	Now she only cries when she fucks.
Se ha cardao las melenas,	She teases back her long locks,
y en el café de levante	and in the levante café
lanza besos con tesoro.[277]	she tosses kisses with treasure.
La zarzamora responde:	La zarzamora responds:
le gano la carne al oro.	flesh beats money.
Cuando hacemos nuestro encuentro,	When we meet,
la que se forma es delito.	the result is a crime.
Que a cañeras no nos ganan	We are more hardcore
ni de coña los Sex Pistols.	than the Sex Pistols.
Pásame ese chocolate.	Pass me the hashish.
Cuéntame otra batallita.	Tell me another self-aggrandizing story.
La que no pica no come,	She who doesn't offend, doesn't get her way.
La que no come nos quita.	She who doesn't get her way is bad for us.
(Domerq)	

"Supercopleras" is rich with a cultural semiotic referencing both the Spanish and the Andalusian, the traditional and the vanguard, the highbrow and the lowbrow, the local and the global, the popular and the underground, the copla and the *hardcop*. The lyrical

[275] That is, without protection.
[276] "La faraona" is a nickname associated with the flamenco/copla singer Lola Flores, an iconic copla diva.
[277] *Cardao* here comes from the Spanish verb *cardar* which is a way to give volume to the hair via backteasing. The resulting effect is often associated in Spain with a sort of willful trashiness indicating decadence and loose morals.

displacement gives an empowered voice to these protagonists as proxy for the twenty-first-century Spanish and Andalusian woman through all of the aforementioned references. Much of the imagery and iconicity which La Shica brings into play here is powerful, deadly, and/or offensive in nature: *veneno*, *kriptonita*, *matar*, *batallón de faraonas*, *copla dura*, *penas*, The Sex Pistols, and *picar*. Moreover, La Shica delegitimates the copla forms built on the "natural" dependence of the Spanish woman on her man, on *The Man*. Instead we see an independent Spanish female collective no longer in need of the Spanish male to support them financially, emotionally, or otherwise. They are a band of femme fatales, exotic vampires, and violent divas. Their Kryptonite hearts debilitate and repel all supermen—they need no superhero; they need no savior. Rovayo imagines this diva collective as not only participating in the seedy Andalusian underbelly, but reveling in it, even controlling it. It isn't, however, just some fantasy world that the musician has dreamed up; it is a realist portrayal of the woman in Spain today:

> **Elsa Rovayo (ER):** Es la historia en la que ellas son amigas. Ellas ya no tienen miedo porque ellas se tienen la una a la otra. Una de ellas, la bien pagá, es rica porque, no se dice exactamente en la canción, pero supuestamente vende drogas. Y se ha hecho millonaria. Y la lirio y la zarzamora son novias. Son muy felices y tienen un grupo de rock.
>
> **MA:** Y ¿por qué querías hacer esto? ¿Para mostrar la mujer diferente ahora?
>
> **ER:** Es que hemos cambiado. En su momento era como era, y las coplas hablan de España real, de aquel momento. Entonces yo ahora no puedo hablar de que estoy esperando un marinero que venga a solucionarme la vida, porque yo soy la jefa. Yo trabajo, yo me gano la vida sola. Tengo un novio maravilloso, pero no me mantiene. No dependo de él. (Rovayo)
>
> **ER:** (It is a story in which now they are friends. They have no fear because they have each other. One of them, la bien pagá, is rich because, although it is not

> explicitly stated in the song, she allegedly sold drugs. And she is now a millionaire. La lirio and la zarazamora are lovers. They are very happy and have a rock band.
>
> **MA:** And why did you want to do this? To show how women are different now?
>
> **ER:** We have changed. Back then that was how it used to be. The songs speak of Spain as it actually was at the time. So I can't say now that I am waiting for some sailor to come and fix my life, because I am the boss. I work. I make my own living. I have a wonderful boyfriend, but I don't live off of him. I don't depend on him.)

The woman in Spain indeed has changed, as has the woman in flamenco. As Rovayo demonstrates in her lyrics and explains in her interviews, the Spanish woman is now more independent and empowered than ever.

An interesting aspect, though, that remains unchanged from much Andalusian and Spanish folk traditions to "Supercopleras" is that of the women as a threat to men: "When unconfined, undisciplined, and unleashed, they become voracious bodies that threaten to devour men's souls. This imagery may spring from the earliest roots of Andalusian, if not European, folklore…or it may hearken back to the early nineteenth century when 'women were threatening the spheres previously occupied only by men'" (Washabaugh 106). Washabaugh reasons that female sensuality was associated with a threat to male spirituality. The situation was further complicated in early nineteenth-century Andalusia as the rational, progressive, highbrow music--as practiced by women in private spaces--was gradually interwoven with the primal, boisterous, popular music as practiced by men in public urban spaces during festivals celebrating the Virgin Mary. The conservative, macho, anti-French atmosphere of Spanish urban life under Fernando VII and his predecessors underlied the bawdy musical performances which "also served as a symbol

for regionalists who, following Herder and the German Romanticists, were eager to locate sources of their distinctive social identity…From that time to the present, the raw and percussive sounds of flamenco have been celebrated as symbols of Andalusian allegiance" (Washabaugh 107-108).[278] Washabaugh also connects the carnavalesque urban chaos created by the noisy percussive flamenco street music to a bourgeois fascination with the repressed physicality of the lower body which was associated with the female (as opposed to the spiritual upper body associated with the male). According to Stephanie Sieburth:

> In the nineteenth-century bourgeois imagination, the ´low´ terms of all oppositions blur into an indissociable mass; each is seen as causally linked to others. Thus poverty, illness, dirt, disease, sexuality, animals, the working class, savages, and the prostitute are imagined as inextricably connected. The prostitute becomes symbolically central to bourgeois fantasy life because she is one channel where everything associated with the ´low´ can contaminate the ´high,´ bourgeois world. The dread of the low is accompanied by fascination. (qtd. in Washabaugh 108)

As the "low" mixed with the "high" in the city street and later in the *juerga*, the woman would only be allowed in if she checked her honor at the door as prostitute or disgraced threat personified.[279] Although the woman was physically rejected from this sphere, she was simultaneously spiritually invoked--as it was the female emotionality which the

[278] Washabaugh here references the work of Peter Burke's *We, The people: Popular Culture and Popular Identity in Modern Europe* (1992). The time period that Washabaugh refers to (the 1830s and 1840s) follows shortly after a brief yet divisive Napoleonic occupation of Spain (1808-1814) in which the on-again, off-again Spanish monarch Ferdinand VII attempted to maintain a conservative absolute monarchy. The Spanish people, however, had other ideas. War and revolution against French occupation led to a citizenry newly enlightened by the influence of Napoleonic liberalism. The Spanish Constitution of 1812, ushered in an era of social turbulence and political instability. Civil Wars fought between liberalists and absolutists plagued the Spanish nation for nearly half a century.

[279] The *juerga* is an all-night party involving flamenco dance and song, as well as plenty of alcohol.

romantic poets and flamenco troubadours were essentially approximating.[280] The nineteenth-century Spanish woman would be entirely excluded from the flamenco music of men, regardless of her contribution to the practice and canon.

La Shica, via "Supercopleras," attacks every aspect of this one-sided history on behalf of all Spanish women, past and present. La Shica invokes the traditional figure of the threatening Spanish female, but does so on her own terms. The threat is still associated with a contamination of the "low," the sensual, the debauched, etc., but it is achieved in a way that essentially excludes the male altogether, much as the nineteenth-century flamenco male excluded the female. In just one song, Rovayo is able to arrest and contemporize the semiotic of feminine emotionality, co-opted by the flamenco male nearly two centuries prior, while simultaneously subverting (delegitimating) the deeply rooted Spanish dichotomy of woman as Madonna or whore.

The high society dread of and fascination towards the prostitute as the physical embodiment of the potential for high/low contamination is by no means unique to Andalusia, or even Spain for that matter. In Portugal, fado, like flamenco, was beginning to emerge around the same time period from a similar chaotic urban atmosphere characterized by its own debauchery.[281] The first fado icon was a singer, Portuguese guitarist, and prostitute named Maria Onofriana da Severa. Before the end of the

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[280] In the setting of the *juerga*, "a woman's presence stanches male emotionality, and it does so despite the historical fact that this male emotionality is derived from an early nineteenth-century emulation of 'the feminine'" (Washabaugh 110).

[281] Fado, like flamenco, materialized in the urban setting of a nation caught in a state of sociopolitical flux as a result of the liberal influence of the Napoleonic invasion and occupation (1807-1811). The transfer of the Portuguese royal family and its court to Brazil in 1808 effectively moved the empire's capital from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro for thirteen years. Over the course of this period the constant cultural exchanges between Portugal and Brazil would allow for the fusing of Afro-Brazilian with European and Portuguese song and dance which would eventually evolve into a proto-fado.

nineteenth century Severa had already reached a mythical status in Portugal due to her tragic life and love affair with the Conde de Vimioso (Dom Francisco de Paula Portugal e Castro). Legend has it that the Count, while slumming it in the fado taverns housed within the seedy underbelly of the Mouraria district, fell madly in love with Severa after seeing her perform. Severa was apparently later abandoned by the Count, before succumbing shortly thereafter to tuberculosis in 1846 at the age of 26. There are precious few details regarding the nature of their relationship, but the lore surrounding it has come to function as a founding myth for fado. Rui Vieira Nery explains why this figure has logically supplanted practically any other nineteenth-century fadista, male or female:

> Se consideramos ainda que no plano do imaginário popular este modelo se cruza facilmente com a evocação constante das imagens de martírio feminino precoce de que está tão recheada a hagiografia católica tradicional, então Maria Severa acumula, neste contexto referencial mútiplo, a sua identidade de figura histórica real...e a aura mítica de uma mártir predestinada que sob uma superficie de perdição mantém de algum modo intacta uma espécie de virgindade essencial cujo único escoamento seria o seu canto trágico. E a esta dimensão icónica múltipla se junta, naturalmente, face a este exemplo inédito de uma ligação amorosa pública de uma mulher do povo mais humilde com um grande titular da primeira nobreza, o vislumbre tentador, para as demais mulheres da mesma condição, de uma possibilidade de ascensão social quase milagrosa, mesmo que temporária, pela via combinada do talento e da sedução. (68)
>
> (If we consider that, at the level of popular imagination, this figure easily intertwines with the constant evocation of images of youthful female martyrdom that fills traditional Catholic hagiography, then Maria Severa accumulates in this context multiple references: Her identity as an actual historical figure... as well as the mythical aura surrounding the fate of a martyr who, beneath the superficial veil of moral ruin, somehow keeps intact a kind of essential virginity whose only outlet is her tragic song. One can add to this multiple iconic dimension, of course, the unprecedented example of a public love affair between the most humble example of the common people and a first-rank nobleman--this a tempting glimpse for women of a similar status, an almost miraculous potential for, albeit temporary, social mobility through the combination of talent and seduction.)

The legend surrounding Severa as tragic martyr, virgin prostitute, and romantic heroine echoes several of the aforementioned dichotomous descriptions of traditional flamenco and copla protagonists, fictional or otherwise. A fundamental difference though, is that Severa, as an actually verifiable historical person, represents not only a romantic muse for male fado composers (countless songs and films have been produced in her honor), but also *the* founding mythical fado figure. Whereas flamenco's first legendary performer, El Planeta, was male, the first icon of Lisbon fado was female. Perhaps this fundamental difference--with respect to the gender of the founding figures of each tradition--can help to explain why historically most internationally successful flamencos are primarily male (Tomás "El Nitri", Pepe Marchena, António Mairena, Fosforito, Camarón de la Isla, Enrique Morente, Miguel Poveda, etc.) whereas their fado counterparts are primarily female (Ercília Costa, Hermínia Silva, Maria Teresa de Noronha, Amália Rodrigues, Lucília do Carmo, Mariza, Ana Moura, etc.).[282] Just as no female flamenco performer has ever been awarded the extremely rare Llave de oro del cante (the golden key of cante), no male fado performer has enjoyed (or currently enjoys) the kind of international following and national recognition of Amália or Mariza. Nationally renowned male fado singers such as Carlos do Carmo and Camané have struggled for decades to translate national success into international recognition to no avail.[283] A Naifa co-founder Luís Varatojo sums up the male fadista´s global fate: "I like

[282] There are, without a doubt, several exceptions to the general rule of thumb I propose here. Nevertheless, the exceptions to the rule in both cases are just that--statistical outliers.

[283] Camané is, by all measures, the most successful male fadista of the last three decades. Moreover, Camané´s national recognition is not limited just to fado circles— the musician´s 2010 release, *Do Amor e dos Dias*, was awarded by the premier Portuguese rock, pop, and indie music magazine (*Blitz*) with their most prestigious prize for local performers: national album of the year. That said, the qualifying modifier "national" which precedes album of the year highlights three interesting facts with respect to Camané as

Camané a lot. If he were a woman, he could be like Mariza. Outside the country he is not so popular because people out there think of fado as being sung by a woman, but he is really the new Amália." Interestingly enough, despite the many fundamental characteristics that fado and flamenco share, they are quite opposites in this regard.

The musician I present next bridges the gap between neoflamenco and neofado, Spanish and Portuguese, global and local. María del Rocío Herrera Alonso, the singer-songwriter who leads Mil i Maria, has been active as an indie folk/neofolk troubadour (travelling between Spain, Portugal, and Brazil) for over a decade.

Mil i Maria Unmasks the Other Within

Fig. 31. Mil i María from left to right: Rafael De La Torre Coca, María del Rocío Herrera Alonso, Rawle Bruce. Photograph by Katya Struif, 21 September 2009, from Flickr Creative Commons, 12 June 2013.

An introductory paragraph from the following chapter of Rachel DuPlessis´s *Writing Beyond the Ending*, "The Critique of Consciousness and Myth in Levertov, Rich,

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well as all Iberian musical creation: 1) Camané does not significantly register on the international level; 2) *Blitz* Magazine, just like *RockDelux* in Spain, feels the need to create two categories for album of the year—one national and one international; 3) rarely does even the top-rated national album of the year ever surface on the annual best international album charts for either magazine.

and Rukeyser," serves as an appropriate segue for my own study on the practice and performance of Mil i Maria:

> In "Hypocrite Women," Denise Levertov asks what specific female constraints can prevent or inhibit one's choosing to make life a pilgrimage. The answer: women repress whatever they feel—even their own self-doubt—to preserve a generous, unruffled surface…The women really feel cold, moonstruck, self-absorbed: in a word, 'unwomanly.' To hide the paradox of ´unwomanliness,´ they assume the mask their culture has long made available: flirtation used as self-repression. In doing so, they also hide the intensity of the conflict from themselves… [Levertov employs] linguistic allegories [that criticize] women who, concerned simply with pleasing men, tailor their responses to ignore messages of myth and dream…By self-censorship, women deny themselves the challenge of soul-making. (124)

Mil i Maria singer-songwriter, María del Rocío Herrera Alonso, is not one of these women, but rather the reverse, that is, the soul-making pilgrim. She does, however, often speak to such masks and self-denial as DuPlessis mentions above. I begin this case study with a brief look at Rocío as pilgrim.[284] I follow this with a participant-observation of a Mil i Maria live performance in which the singer embodies what DuPlessis (via Levertov) refers to as the mask of flirtation used as self-repression. This represents one of various instances in which my misreading of an indie urban neofolk performance becomes better-informed through the process that Clifford Geertz refers to as "thick description." María, like La Shica, also lyrically wrestles with the traditional Spanish binary of female identity: Mary Magdalene (whore)/mother Mary (saint). However, Rocío, in the Mil i Maria song "Y si…" (And if…) attempts to nuance this simple

[284] I refer to María del Rocío Herrera Alonso simply as María or Rocío throughout the majority of the text. This is according to María´s wishes: "A mí me gusta Rocío o María. Los dos juntos es demasiado" (Rocío Herrera Alonso) (I like Rocío or María. The two together is just too much).

opposition, depicting a third pole: a global woman characterized by her self-doubt, self-abnegation, and self-repression.

María del Rocío Herrera Alonso's songs often depict pilgrimages. On Mil i María´s 2009 album, *Nadie es nadie*, Rocío sings in Spanish, Portuguese, and English, sometimes mixing more than one language in a song. For instance, in the song "Down," María sings in three different languages, starting in Portuguese, changing to Spanish, with a chorus in English. I asked her about the signification of all this code switching:

> Yo creo que eso es natural…si aquí hubiera un inglés, y aquí un portugués, y estamos hablando entre los tres…cambias de idioma naturalmente. No, a lo mejor yo puedo estar hablando contigo en español, tú me respondes en inglés, y luego estoy hablando con éste en portugués--y ese cambio es fluido, natural, ni siquiera te estás planteando en qué idioma hablas. (Rocío Herrera Alonso)
>
> (I think that it´s natural…if there were an Englishman here, and here a Portuguese, and we're talking between the three…the language changes naturally. No, maybe I am talking to you in Spanish, you answer me in English, and then I'm talking to this guy in Portuguese--and that change is fluid, natural, you don´t even notice which language you are speaking.)

Rocío, by her very terms of address, hails her audience as members of the new hybrid, globally connected society that she and her band mirror musically. Mil i Maria's sound exhibits the social tendencies amongst European youth as they travel and intermix within and without a mostly borderless continent.

I saw Mil i Maria perform at the Sala Caracol in Madrid´s Embajadores neighborhood on the 8th of March 2010 for a celebration of the 100th anniversary of International Women´s Day.[285] This was the second concert I had attended in Madrid.

[285] The concert, with the program title "Construyendo alternativas" (Constructing alternatives), was organized by the Izquierda Unida—Comunidad de Madrid (United Left-Madrid, IU-CM). The general message voiced by many of the invited speakers of the evening was that the Spanish woman was bearing

Several of the bands that performed at Sala Caracol that night challenged me to consider the various ways that female Iberian musicians articulated their identity, and how that contrasted with the portrayal of female identity as penned by their (primarily male) lyrical predecessors.

The Sala Caracol crowd patiently waited for Mil i Maria to take the stage for nearly an hour. Finally, a hunchbacked person emerged from the left side of the unlit stage. This barely visible figure was slowly revealed to be shrouded in a burqa. The lack of light and sound accentuated each step the hobbled figure took. Each uncertain movement of the masked woman resonated in rapid echo. One by one, the Mil i Maria musicians took stage and attempted a musical improvisation which interpreted this mysterious woman´s gait. The muffled tones played by these musicians gradually took shape—some musical simulacrum that the audience could easily identify as Middle Eastern. I started to discern a mumbling female voice. After a few minutes of musical dissonance and murmur, the tension in the room became palpable. The music slowly increased in volume as it transitioned stylistically into a more playful show tune sound. Suddenly, the burqa was cast off by the hunchback. The incredibly slow musical evolution was contrasted and underscored by the rapid and drastic metamorphosis of the character we had followed for minutes. The Arab woman who, for me, seemed to personify the psychological and physiological manifestation of an oppressive, patriarchic, fundamentalist Muslim society had transformed into a completely different figure—a

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the brunt of the ongoing national economic crisis. Several IU-CM speakers voiced the concern that the crisis could be used as an excuse by private corporations to stall or reverse national labor rights for women, specifically in regards to equality and employment discrimination based on sex or marital status.

blonde bombshell. No longer bent over, the singer—now in blonde wig, bright-red lips, and a revealing, form-fitting, red evening gown--began to seductively perform a tune that ironically aped "Diamonds Are a Girl´s Best Friend." María del Rocío Herrera Alonso was embodying Marilyn Monroe--and doing quite a good job of it. Within the span of four beats, María had morphed through polar opposite disguise: East and West, dark and light, "oppressed" and "free." She was obviously not physically or discursively comfortable in the Monroe mask as immediately following this song Rocío went offstage to change outfits one last time. She came back onstage sporting a sort of Indigo Girls-era indie folk look: buzz cut, overalls, multicolored knit cap, baggy shirt, and sneakers.

During an interview a few weeks after the concert, I asked María what exactly she was trying to say with this dramatic performance. María replied by asking me what I thought it all meant. I told her that I had interpreted this performance as a commentary on a narrative in which the female is liberated from fundamentalist Muslim theocratic rule. I went on and on about Anglophone hegemony and cultural ignorance. I tried to sum up my interpretation by saying that she was ironically performing the Occidental utopist fascination of penetrating such a politically and culturally homogenous world: By spreading democracy in these countries, we imagine that the repressed female would emerge from her burqa cocoon and instantaneously embrace all the trappings of the Western materialistic value system. Rocío graciously explained to me what she was actually thinking:

> Era el día de la mujer, entonces me parece que es muy bonito la sensación que tenemos los occidentales de poder criticar a las personas que llevan una burka--´porque eso es opresión.´ Su tipo de opresión contra la mujer, etc., muy bien. Es verdad, o puede ser verdad depende la del caso. No lo sabemos. Eso tendrá que

> decidir la mujer que está en la burka, ¿no? Pero me parece que hay otro tipo de burka: que eso de estar siempre sexy, disponible y ser maravillosa. Es otro tipo de burka…a tener que estar siempre perfecta, divina de la muerte, ser delgada, ¿sabes? (Rocío Herrera Alonso)
>
> (It was International Women's Day, so I thought: it's really nice (María says with a sarcastic tone) the way we Westerners criticize people who wear a burqa—´because that's oppression.´ It´s their way of oppressing women, etc. Very well. It is true--or it may be true, depending on the case. We don´t know. That would have to be decided by the woman wearing the burqa, right? But I think there is another type of burqa: that [the Western woman] always has to be sexy, available, and wonderful. It's another kind of burqa…to always be perfect, dressed to kill, be thin, you know?)[286]

María´s onstage masking devices frustrate the attempt to pin down the cultures we don´t fully understand through false binaries of repression/freedom. I perceived her burqa mask as representing a harsh, patriarchal, dominant order. And yet I failed to grasp her Marilyn Monroe mask as representative of just another insidious oppression: the female ideal-type. Rocío does not put the blame for the maintenance of such ideology squarely on men, but rather points to a collectively constructed burqa that the "liberated" European or American woman wears. Rocío's performance invites us to see the hegemonic masks that all women wear. It is akin to the mask which DuPlessis (via Levertov) refers to as that of flirtation used as self-repression.

The semiotic underlying Rocío's performance additionally evokes Judith Butler´s rejection of a universal masculine antagonist which likewise splits female subjugation into a bogus dichotomy:

> The political assumption that there must be a universal basis for feminism, one which must be found in an identity assumed to exist cross-culturally, often

[286] Rocío´s statement recalls Laura Mulvey´s concept (in "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema") of the female figure in film, "their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness" (11).

> accompanies the notion that the oppression of women has some singular form discernible in the universal or hegemonic structure of patriarchy or masculine domination…That form of feminist theorizing has come under criticism for its efforts to colonize and appropriate non-Western cultures to support highly Western notions of oppression, but because they tend as well to construct a ´Third World´ or even an ´Orient´ in which gender oppression is subtly explained as symptomatic of an essential, non-Western barbarism. (Butler 3)

Although Rocío sometimes defies this reductionist mindset through performance, she is better known for her lyrical subversion of female identity politics. A brief analysis of some of the lyrics Rocío penned for her 2009 album, *Nadie es Nadie*, evidences that her revisionary mythopoesis project is both Spanish and universal in nature and is grounded in a practical understanding of classic feminist theory. The track "Pantera" revisits the exclusion of the Spanish female from the national discourse at the youngest of ages, in the most intimate of settings: the bedtime lullaby:

´Duérmete, duémete, duérmete	´Sleep, sleep, sleep
chiquito,	little boy,
que si no te lleva el coquito.´	if you don´t the boogeyman will get you.´
Y ahora en versión políticamente incorrecta	And now in the politically incorrect version
para las niñas,	for the little girls,
que también existimos:	since we too exist:
´Duérmete, duérmete, duérmete	´Sleep, sleep, sleep
chiquita,	little girl,
que si no te lleva la coquita.´	if you don´t the boogeywoman will get you.´

María´s "politically incorrect" rewriting delegitimates the Spanish bedtime parental threat--of "sleep or else"--in that her version also includes the Spanish girl. Perhaps the little *española* would rather not be included in this parent-child/male-female struggle, prefering to remain safe in the knowledge that the boogeyman only kidnaps boys. But María´s lyrics point to a national chauvinism that is rooted in the most rudimentary of social structures--a seemingly innocent patrimonial element passed down from generation

to generation. This feminist attack on the rote bedtime routine addresses the now normalized structures of a patriarchal domination already centuries in the making. María´s casual reminder to Spanish parents that "we too exist" demands a new national convention of gender equality, an equality that must necessarily begin at the most primordial origins of conventional semiotics and even language itself: María changes the boogeyman (*coquito*), who kidnaps the young boy, with the same monster, now gendered female (as *coquita*), who abducts the little girl. Such play with the gendered monster is most likely interpreted by the Spanish audience as a gentle reminder to recognize the patriarchal roots underlying national identity and to ponder such conventions before they pass them on to their own kids. Perhaps they will begin to tell their children a boogeyman tale which is gender-appropriate. María´s lyrical play with the gendered monster is just one example of what seems to be her long game: the piecemeal unmasking of every aspect that conceals the monster of gender. The *coquito* is a Spanish monster which emerges in the middle of night from the middle of nowhere--out of utter darkness--a barbaric and unimaginable entity which invades the most intimate spaces of the little boy´s domicile. Rocío´s *coquita* is likewise based on the emergence—out of utter darkness--of a thitherto unimaginable entity: a gendered monster which references the monstrous gender discourses of language. This monster first emerged in the academy when feminist theoreticians, interested in gender with respect to linguistics, began to venture beyond what is commonly termed "feminist critique" to embrace what would eventually be termed "gynocriticism."[287] The gynocritics studying language and gender

[287] Feminist literary criticism prior to the 1970s is generally considered as contemporaneous with the first and second phases of feminism. The original feminist literary critics were primarily concerned with

were, in part, preoccupied with the inability of the woman author to express herself through a language which was gendered male. The activist gynocritic linguist sought to achieve that which, according to Ferdinand de Saussure, was inherently impossible: to *individually* influence the collective *langue*.[288] They were to a degree successful in this endeavor, but only to the extent in which they were able to act collectively and to agree on a specific female-gendered vocabulary.[289] Rocío´s *coquita* pays homage to such a

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analyzing the literary representation of women by male authors and later the political and ideological ramifications underlying the woman as author.

[288] Saussure defines *langue* as the abstract system of language which is internalized by any given speech community. For more information see Saussure´s *Course in General Linguistics* (1959). This highly influential text was originally published in 1916 and was, in fact, not written by Saussure. The book, instead, is a compilation of Saussure´s lectures on linguistics delivered over the course of three years at the University of Geneva.

[289] The gynocritical influence over contemporary English can be observed, for instance, in the general adoption of job titles which are no longer designated as gender specific: police officer instead of policeman, firefighter instead of fireman, mail carrier instead of mailman, etc. It is considered a triumphant accomplishment for the movement, in that it successfully achieved a certain degree of linguistic empowerment and equality through collective action and female solidarity. Nevertheless, as is the case with any coup, the movement attracted a great deal of reactionary scorn from those interested in maintaining the status quo and from those fed up with the new inundation of politically correct vocabulary. The linguistic influence of the gynocritics was seen by conservative U.S. citizens as part of an invasive liberalism which required them to change their speech and behavior in order to comport themselves according to a leftist-hegemonic paradigm change. The Millenial Generation in the U.S. shared with the conservative population an anti-politically correct reactionary angst. This had less to do with some kind of Millennial aversion to feminism, but rather with their disinterest in politics in general as well as their distaste for explicit, top-down ideological agendas. That said, it was not just the conservatives and the Millenials who were fed up with the politically correct agenda. Various age groups across the Anglophone world collectively refused to put up with the increasingly cumbersome nature of politically correct speech acts. Parody was rife across mainstream, turn-of-the-century English-language media: sitcoms like The Simpsons, Family Guy, South Park, and The Office were mercilessly politically *incorrect*. Comedians like Louis C.K., Larry David, and Ricky Gervais earned a very profitable living as they pushed the boundaries even further via stand-up, television, books, and movies. Videogames like *Grand Theft Auto* progressively tried to outdo each other in their level of politically incorrect offensiveness. It was no longer sufficient to imply a rape or kill a random passersby, the 2002 release, *Grand Theft Auto: Vice City*, also allows the gamer to drive through a city running down specific targets traditionally protected by political correctness: women, minorities, the obese, etc. The gamer also has the opportunity to participate in a small-scale genocide of Cubans. The list goes on and on.

The attempt to make the female more visible by reflecting her presence in the vocabulary we use on a daily basis became a topic of intense debate in Spain after a 2012 article titled "Sexismo lingüístico y visibilidad de la mujer" (Linguistic Sexism and Female Visibility) published in the culture section of the Spanish daily *El País*. One of the author's primary critiques was the cumbersome nature of a syntax laden with gender-neutral expressions. Such terminology, he argues, would only be sustained when the microphone was on a public speaker: "Precisamente ahora que se trabaja para que el lenguaje de los textos jurídicos se acerque en alguna medida al español común, las propuestas para 'visibilizar a la mujer' en el idioma parecen

successful gynocritic strategy—the empowering redefinition of the woman vis-à-vis the rupturing and restructuring of languages traditionally coded as masculine-dominant. Rocío´s *coquita*, as the newly gendered monster and the birth of the monster of gender, evokes both the gynocritics´ invasion of hegemonic masculine language and Jacques Derrida´s concept of the event of rupture. Derrida compares the event of rupture--the moment when "language invaded the universal problematic"--to a monstrous birth: "as yet unnamable which is proclaiming itself and which can do so, as is necessary whenever a birth is in the offing, only under the species of the non-species, in the formless, mute, infant, and terrifying form of monstrosity" (293). The identification of said monster as such is, according to Derrida, tantamount to its very domestication. Rocío identifies the monster as *coquita*, as bogeywoman. By introducing this terrifying monster, she tames it. By naming it *coquita*, María ruptures conventional masculine gendered language norms, delegitimates the bedtimes stories which rely on such norms, and piecemeal dismantles the hegemonic discourse that slowly indoctrinates the *chica*. Rocío unmasks, reveals, and domesticates the gender monster by reenvisioning and rearticulating the gendered monster.

In the Mil i Maria song "Y si…" (And If…), María del Rocío Herrera Alonso drops her casual play with masks, monsters, and myths for a sincere call to exhort women against self-censorship, self-doubt, self-abnegation, and self-repression. "Y si…" exaggerates an implicit irony to expose gender power relations as all-too-often extremely

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encaminarse en el sentido opuesto. Se trata, al parecer, de lograr que el lenguaje oficial se diferencie aún más del real" (Bosque) (Precisely at the moment in which we are working toward an approximation of the language used in legal texts to that of everyday Spanish, such attempts 'to make the woman more visible' in our language seem to work in the opposite direction. It seemingly only achieves a further distancing of official language from commonly spoken Spanish).

unequal. "Y si…" ponders the lengths to which a woman will go to keep her man. The words in the title indicate the hypothetical. The ellipsis could be interpreted in a variety of ways, most of them, however, point to an uncertain protagonist weakly voicing hesitation, hope, desperation, or exasperation. Whereas the song title leaves us wondering, the song lyrics provide an unmistakable symbol of female subordination before her unnamed lover:

Y si cambio de nombre,	And if I change my name,
quemo mis libros,	burn my books,
rompo mis gestos,	stop my gestures,
y me quedo	and remain
tal como quieras…	just as you want me…
vacía para que me llenes	empty so that you can fill me
de ti y lo que desees.	with yourself and what you desire.
Si olvido los sueños,	If I forget my dreams,
las intuiciones,	my intuition,
esta profunda melancolía…	this profound melancholy…
Si la olvido,	If I forget it,
y me quedo contigo disimulando	and I just fake it
que no soy sino otro espejismo…	as if I weren´t just another mirage…
¿Te quedarás conmigo?	Would you stay with me?
Mira que he mejorado…	Look how I have improved…
Hoy ya sé lo que me puede salvar	I now know what can save me
de la tristeza de no querer	from the sadness of not wanting
levantarme de la cama,	to even get out of bed,
pelearme contra el día…	to fight through the day…
Sin ti.	Without you.
Hoy ya sé que soy capaz	Now I know that I am able
de con una mano	with just one hand
sujetar la poesía	to hold tight the poetry
mientras subo por la escalera	just walking up the stairs
a emborronar el cielo.	to smudge the sky.
Si cambio,	If I change,
si me rompo,	if I break,
si quemo,	if I burn,
si olvido,	if I forget,
y me quedo contigo…	and I stay with you…
¿Te quedarás tú conmigo?	Would you stay with me?

The incessant repetition of the conditional *si* (if) is ironically posed here by María, while it remains a sincere question for Rocío´s protagonist--a woman desperately intent on keeping her lover at any cost. The pleas of this frantic lover host no irony. María builds a construction of conditional clauses that culminate in an implied sharp rebuke of any lover who forces such extreme changes on his beloved.[290] The sincerity of the protagonist´s final interrogative coincides perfectly with the author´s sarcastic rhetorical question: Would you really want to stay with a woman who would change everything about herself just to keep you?

María del Rocío Herrera Alonso, like La Shica, is an indie neoflamenco musician committed to changing the way her audience views the feminine, referencing local perspectives to comment on and unmask larger, global truths. Although this commitment does not wholly define either singer, it is a central preoccupation for both. Both musicians lyrically draw on what DuPlessis refers to as tactics of revisionary mythopoesis to rework local and global patriarchal structures which suppress and oppress the Spanish and international woman. Likewise, the masks that these two neoflamenco musicians put on and take off, when performing live, function to reveal the hidden transcripts that undergird these structures, to celebrate the progress of the twentieth- and

[290] I use here the masculine possessive pronoun, his, even though the gender of the person receiving this message is never revealed by Rocío. The gender of the person communicating the desperate message is, in fact, only disclosed in one verse ("vacía para que me llenes") through the adjective marked as feminine, *vacía*. I interpret the receiver of the poem as masculine only as an educated guess based on the rest of Rocío´s lyrics which primarily revolve around relationships between heterosexual partners. That said, this song could equally be read as a commentary on unequal power relationships amongst lesbian, bisexual, transgendered, and/or polyamorous partners. In fact, if we ignore the gender and sexual orientation of both of the lyrical protagonists, we are presented with a question that is universal in every sense of the term. It is a question which delves into the very foundation of all human psyche and identity: how different is the abnegation of a part of the self from that of the whole of the self?

twenty-first-century Women´s Movement, and to incite a dialogue toward preserving the rights they and their foremothers have fought so hard to attain as well as advancing those rights of equality somehow yet still out of reach. In the final section of this chapter, I analyze a different sort of subversive concealment which determines not only the context of the performance, but encompasses the entirety of form. Deolinda and Ana Bacalhau are Portugal´s wolves in fado-pop´s sheep´s clothing.

"That Which Is Said By Not Saying": Deolinda´s Innocuous Revolution

Fig. 32. Deolinda, live in Oeiras, Portugal, from left to right: Luís José Martins, José Pedro Leitão, Ana Bacalhau, and Pedro da Silva Martins. Photograph by Nuno Galveias, 17 June 2011, from Wikimedia Commons, 12 June 2013.

Deolinda is currently the most critically acclaimed neofado group in Portugal. Deolinda is heavily inspired by fado, but only elliptically incorporate this generic influence into their musical production. Deolinda could be considered the neofado counterpart to the perceived neoflamenco trajectory of the Spanish indie band Los Planetas. Los Planetas last two indie neoflamenco albums seemed to most readily

represent what I termed neoflamenco for many Spaniards. In the same way, Deolinda was, for nearly every Portuguese citizen that asked me what I meant by neofado, the first name that came to their mind. The same scene repeated itself over and over throughout my field work in Lisbon: I would meet someone at a show, at a bar, in an interview, at a *casa de fado*, in a record store, etc., and said person would eventually inquire as to my interest in Portuguese music. I would then give a brief description of my research focus to which the new acquaintance would reply, "oh, you mean like Deolinda?"[291] I would then reply halfheartedly, "yeah, sort of." This is not to say that Deolinda does not embody the spirit of the kind of phenomena I am investigating. It is just that the band seems to me to be performing neofado for children. Some of their music has the feel of a fado-lullaby. Their live shows typically encourage audience participation, imploring their fans to perform along with them vocally and physically, such as the mimicking of band-led gestures. During a very cramped live show I attended at the FNAC-Colombo store on December 3rd, 2010, the band led the entire audience in various sing-alongs which also involved the audience mimicking lead vocalist Bacalhau in gesticulations representing everything from the chirping of baby birds to the waving of the upheld index finger from left to right to gesture "no."

At first glance, the neofado band Deolinda seems to be nothing more than a playful, harmless collective of pop dilettantes that occasionally dabbles in the lighter side of Portuguese folk. The following image, for instance, is the public face of Deolinda:

[291] Or occasionally "oh, you mean like A Naifa?"

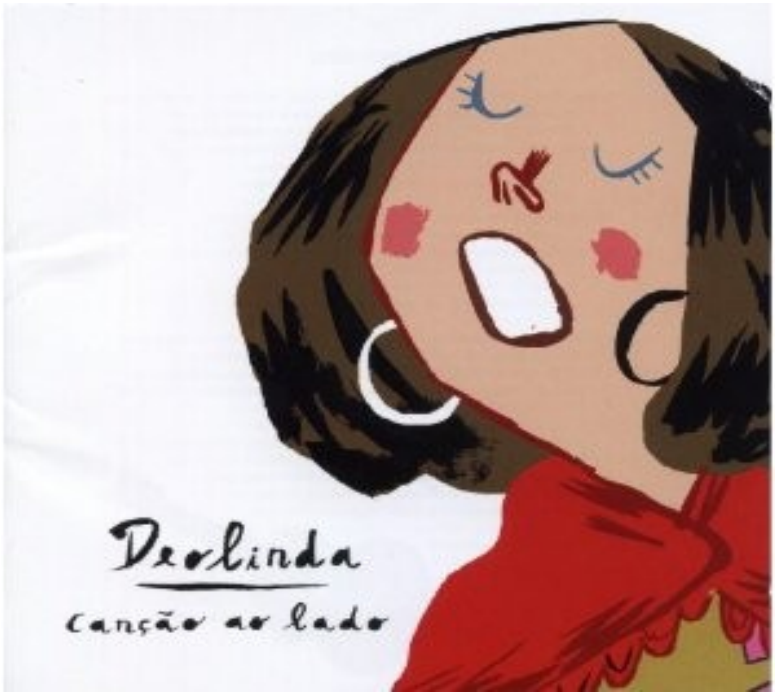

Figure 33. Deolinda. "Deolinda: Canção ao lado." Liner notes. *Canção ao lado*. Iplay/World Connection, 2008, CD.

The cartoon protagonist in Figure 33 is Deolinda. She is Portugal´s ideal young lady: innocent, kind, optimistic, respectful, nostalgic, and completely in love with fado and all aspects of national folklore and culture. Deolinda is Ana Bacalhau´s muse. Deolinda guitarist and composer Pedro da Silva Martins collaborates with Bacalhau and other Deolinda members to compose the band´s lyrics vis-à-vis the naïve perspective of this young lady. This Portuguese girl effectively functions as Bacalhau´s (and Deolinda´s) mask. Nevertheless, this disguise is not meant to obscure message or messenger but rather to elevate the shock level of Deolinda´s occasionally subversive communication. That said, Bacalhau doesn´t use Deolinda to shock the listener through swear words, politically incorrect declarations, offensive statements, erotic suggestions, etc. but rather to express everyday injustices, commonplace oppression, global capitalist exploitation, and national government indifference and/or ineptitude. Deolinda loves Portugal, but she

sees it for what it is. She does not pull any punches. In her simple worldview, we see all of the coercive national discourses, all the arbitrary prejudice, and all the unfair rules which undergird the national and international structural realities. Silva Martins and Bacalhau meditate on the perspective of the innocent Deolinda so as to make conscious the everyday ideology which is profoundly unconscious. Deolinda´s revelations are not the stuff of Wikileaks. Instead, the child protagonist perceives the common sense we all share—those ideological structures which are invisible to us precisely due to their transparent and ´natural´ position in the existing scheme of things—from a drastically different worldview, one that renders visible these ideological structures as profoundly uncommon and unnatural.

With respect to the band´s musical production, one would never suspect that Deolinda was originally formed out of the ashes of Ana Bacalhau´s fado-jazz-punk band Lupanar (2001-2006).[292] Lupanar blended fado with experimental jazz and punk, attempting to lyrically recreate the macabre cut-&-paste pastiche of the ransom letter. The sarcastic and raucous experimentalism of Lupanar would be funneled into the dulcet-toned, and understated lyrical subversion of Deolinda.[293] The countercultural aspects of Lupanar do sporadically emerge in the guise of Deolinda´s "innocent" transgressive statements. The Deolinda song "Fado castigo" speaks to the Portuguese need to write and read in between the lines, reminding listeners of fadista practice under the Salazar-era censor, while signaling that such past is not necessarily completely past:

[292] *Lupanar* is an antiquated Portuguese term meaning brothel.
[293] Whereas the music and lyrics of Lupanar seemed to be heavily influenced by early 80s Portuguese experimental indie bands such as Mler Ife Dada and Ocaso Épico, Deolinda tends more toward the whimsical sonic dreaminess of Madredeus or the playful, jaunty side of Amália Rodrigues (i.e. "Formiga bossa nova," "Caldeirada poluição," "Senhor extraterrestre," etc.)

Proibissem a saudade de cantar.	They prohibit the *saudade* in song.
Havia de ser bonito…	It has to be pretty...
Entre os versos da canção mais popular,	Between the verses of the most popular song
ai é, o dito por não dito.	there it is, that which is said by not saying.
E as guitarras…	And the guitars…
escondem no trinar das cordas o pesar.	hide in the strings a trill grief.
E o poeta vigiado, forçado ao assobio,	The poet under vigilance, forced to whistle,
carpe as mágoas do destino	mourns fortune´s heartbreak
sem mostrar.	without showing.
E ao calor de uma fogueira, um amigo	And in the heat of a bonfire, a friend
com a voz mais aquecida lá entoa:	with a voice even hotter entones:
Que a saudade, mais que um crime,	That *saudade*, more than a crime,
é um castigo.	is a punishment.
E prisão por prisão, temos Lisboa.	And for the prison of prisons, we have
(Silva Martins)	Lisbon.

The subversive masking of the message via the shape-shifting, trickster child protagonist, Deolinda, is dropped wholesale in an attempt to openly accuse the nation of a silencing coercion. Such oppression prohibits the authentic expression of *saudade*. For Bacalhau, the real *saudade* must be buried in a song composed of sweet tones and feigned grief--a mask acceptable to the casual citizen and tourist alike. But amongst friends, the poet is free to express the unmasked *saudade* of authentic fado. And just like many traditional fado lyrics, "Fado castigo" reflects on fado itself: true fado is a crime, and the *saudade* it expresses, the punishment—a vicious circle housed within the prison of prisons, Lisbon. Perhaps Bacalhau drops here her chosen mask of Deolinda to expose the forced mask of the nation. Lupanar was a real expression of nationhood for Bacalhau and her band mates, but it was too intense, too chaotic and cutting for the general public. So now, through the personage of Deolinda, Bacalhau performs the exact opposite of the self-assured, politically informed, independent, opinionated woman: the mild, sweet, docile, obedient young Portuguese girl. Bacalhau has perchance come to realize that the nation

which had invented a style so relentless in its desperation and so uncompromising in its grim severity as fado no longer exists. Thus, in order to awaken this dormant national aesthetic, the band performs an almost Brechtian theatrical distancing effect vis-à-vis somniferous lullabies or light-hearted pop tunes in which the strings of the guitars hide a trill grief.[294] Deolinda are currently composing the most popular new Portuguese songs of the twenty-first century, while they subversively write--between the verses--"that which is said by not saying."

Many of Deolinda´s songs openly dissimulate the twee personage that the band has cultivated in the public imaginary. The Deolinda track "Que parva que eu sou" carries forward the tradition of the indirect poetic lament described in "Fado castigo." The track blends the whimsical sonic dreaminess of Madredeus with a simple, playful pop melody which probably would have masked the acerbic lyrics for awhile had not a video of the live performance gone viral in early 2011. Since Deolinda had not yet made

[294] In Brecht's Epic Theater the actor that portrays the marionette is meant to emotionally distance the spectator from the character and alienate the audience in general from the action. Brecht believed that if such alienating devices could provoke a certain level of emotional distance for the spectator--making them incapable of empathizing with any specific character--the end result would be that the audience members could instead *intellectually* empathize with the dilemma presented and recognize the underlying structural evils in which said dilemma finds its roots. Through such analysis the audience is more engaged intellectually with the problems presented and, thus, more apt to take these lessons home with them and, most importantly, to address similar atrocities which they encounter in their everyday real world. The mask that Bacalhau wears is not a marionette, but a cartoon. The message is often fairly blatant in its subversion of the dominant discourse. The delivery is the mask. As the masses of adult Deolinda fans return home they hum the catchy tune which is stuck in their head for days. They look up the lyrics so that they can sing along with the song properly. They sing the song to themselves repeatedly, even when they don't necessarily want to. The message slowly sinks in. They are not mindless zombies; they are just casual music fans that have a song stuck in their head. The difference being that the song stuck in their head is not some vapid Britney Spears track, but rather is blatantly or latently antiestablishmentarian in nature. Of course, lots of bands may be just as catchy and be equally subversive. I believe what distinguishes Deolinda from other such groups is the vast differential between the innocuous Deolinda performative form (what a casual fan sees onstage or observes within the typical Deolinda album art or music video) and the subversive Deolinda lyrical content (what that same audience member ends up singing in the shower the next day).

a studio recording of the song, various fans across the country posted multiple live performances of "Que parva que eu sou" to YouTube, Vimeo, etc., allowing others to share it via social networks like Facebook and Twitter. The poignant message, narrated in the first person, describes a negative self-perception, seemingly realized for the first time and voiced with an indifference and complacency that alternates with desperation:

Sou da geração 'casinha dos pais.'	I am from the boomerang generation.
Se já tenho tudo,	If I already have everything,
pra quê querer mais?	why would I want more?
Que parva que eu sou:	How foolish I am:
Filhos, maridos, estou sempre a adiar,	Kids and spouse I'm always putting off,
e ainda me falta o carro pagar	and yet I still haven't even paid off my car.
Que parva que eu sou!	What an idiot I am!
E fico a pensar:	And I think:
Que mundo tão parvo	What a stupid world
onde para ser escravo é preciso estudar.	where, in order to be a slave, you have to
(Silva Martins)	study.

The final enjambment "Que mundo tão parvo/onde para ser escravo é preciso estudar," repeated at the end of each stanza, reverses the negative mirror image of the protagonist to reflect instead on the failure of the Portuguese state. The inability of a young Portuguese *individual* to earn a living wage, to move out of her parent's home and start life on her own, was now re-envisioned as a sickness ailing *an entire generation of individuals*. The young Portuguese college grad earning 500 Euros per month and still living at home could effectively stop repeating to herself "*Que parva que eu sou*!" (I'm such an idiot!), and start saying "*Que parvos são eles*!" (They are such idiots!). A central message of the song implicates the dysfunctional Portuguese government. It is a basic pronouncement, but yet it draws attention to a present-day common anxiety for many Portuguese citizens: The University student takes on too much debt, studies materials for

which she will never find a use, works too many hours in a low-wage job to pay tuition, spends too many hours as an unpaid intern and, in the end, winds up as a waitress in some *marisqueira* in Porto so that she can afford the exorbitant rent due for her dismal studio, etc. Deolinda communicates the idea of *que parvos são eles* implicitly, relying on the audience to be educated enough to read between the lines--to decode "that which is said by not saying."

And they did. The song quickly became an anthem for disgruntled student and union protests occurring primarily in Lisbon throughout the early spring and summer of 2011. Deolinda began playing "Que parva que eu sou" in late January 2011. By early February every news outlet in Portugal was calling the song "o hino da nova geração" (the anthem of the new generation). The 8 February 2011 edition of *Time Out Lisboa* captured the odd and revolutionary quality of such hysteria:

> E de repente, uma canção que foi apenas cantada quatro vezes ao vivo–duas no Coliseu do Porto e mais duas no Coliseu de Lisboa–, da qual ainda só há registos manhosos gravados com telemóvel e colocados no YouTube, transformou-se no mais comentado fenómeno musical do ano...'Parva que Sou'...passou dos Coliseus para as redes sociais à velocidade da luz. Foi partilhada, comentada, citada, aplaudida, chorada e transformada em algo que já não se via em Portugal há muito, muito tempo: um hino de intervenção. ("Parvo ou não, eis a questão")
>
> (And suddenly, a song that had only been sung live four times--twice in the Oporto Coliseum and twice in the Lisbon Coliseum--of which there are still only bootleg copies recorded with cell phones and uploaded to YouTube, has become the most talked-about music phenomenon of the year...´Parva que Sou´...went from the Coliseum to the social network at the speed of light. It was shared, reviewed, quoted, praised, mourned, and transformed into something that had not been seen in Portugal for a very long time: a protest song.)

The primary problem expressed in the song was easy to decode. What to do about it (two years into the Eurozone crisis) was not so clear. International concerns that

Portugal would soon need to be bailed out like Greece led to increased calls for austerity measures from the European Union and the IMF. Socialist Prime Minister José Socrates submitted his resignation on March 23rd, 2011, shortly after the Portuguese parliament had rejected his final proposal for austerity measures. On May 16th, 2011, Eurozone leaders agreed on a €78 billion bail-out for Portugal to be equally split between the European Financial Stabilization Mechanism, the European Financial Stability Facility, and the IMF. Socrates (and several other governmental leaders within the Socialist party) would be replaced after elections in June by members of the Portuguese Social Democratic Party, led by Pedro Passos Coelho. The Eurozone leaders had hopes that new leadership could help tame the Portuguese deficit via IMF-sanctioned restrictions on national social expenditures. The new, externally imposed austerity measures are gradually, yet drastically, affecting the Portuguese youth that Deolinda helped to reinvigorate. With the first quarter, 2012, youth unemployment rate hovering near thirty percent, the Coelho administration pressed ahead with reforms to introduce more flexibility into labor markets. "Arménio Carlos, the CGTP leader, said the government's austerity measures and labour reforms would result in many workers seeing their wages drop by up to 25%. On top of pay cuts and tax increases, the measures will make it easier and cheaper for companies to fire workers, will introduce more flexible timetables, and will cut holidays and overtime rates" ("Portugal´s strike: General indifference").[295] The same endeavors to increase labor flexibility were addressed across

[295] The Confederação Geral de Trabalhadores Portugueses (General Confederation of Portuguese Workers, or CGTP) is the communist-leaning (and Portugal´s largest) trade-union confederation. In March 2012 the CGTP called for a general strike which the second-largest, and far more moderate union organization,

the border in Spain, receiving a similar reaction. The hope for both governments was that the greater flexibility provided to national and international corporations to hire and fire will reduce unemployment since businesses effectively would take on less risk now when hiring, given that firing would not be as costly as it had been before. The results of these measures by the end of first quarter, 2013, have been rather disappointing both with respect to youth unemployment--which rose 2.6% over the year to 38.3% ("Portugal Youth Unemployment Rate")--as well as overall national unemployment, rising 2.4% to reach 17.5% ("Portugal Unemployment Rate").

The complacency of the *geração à rasca* in the face of government ineptitude and rising youth unemployment figures preceding the global financial collapse was the focus of a track on Deolida´s debut release *Canção ao lado* (2008): "Movimento Perpétuo Associativo." The lyrics to this song describe a schizophrenic youth that is poised and ready for an imminent revolution so long as it remains just that, imminent:

Agora sim, damos a volta a isto!	Now is the time to turn this all around!
Agora sim, há pernas para andar!	Now is the time, we have legs to march!
Agora sim, eu sinto o optimismo!	Now is the time, I'm feeling optimistic!
Vamos em frente, ninguém nos vai parar!	Onward, let's go, no one will stop us!
Agora não, que é hora do almoço.	Not now, it's lunchtime.
Agora não, que é hora do jantar.	Not now, it's dinner time.
Agora não, que eu acho que não posso,	Not now, I don't think I can make it,
Amanhã vou trabalhar.	I have to work tomorrow.
Agora sim, temos a força toda!	Now is the time, we have all the power!
Agora sim, há fé neste querer!	Now is the time, this desire is pure!
Agora sim, só vejo gente boa!	Now is the time, I only see good people!
Vamos em frente e havemos de vencer!	Onward, let's go and we will overcome!

União Geral de Trabalhadores (Worker´s General Union, or UGT) opted not to support after agreeing with the Coelho administration on a labour pact in January.

Agora não, que me dói a barriga.	Not now, my stomach hurts.
Agora não, dizem que vai chover.	Not now, they say it looks like rain.
Agora não, que joga o Benfica,	Not now, Benfica is playing,
e eu tenho mais que fazer.	and I have so much to do.
Agora sim, cantamos com vontade!	Now is the time, we sing with yearning!
Agora sim, eu sinto a união!	Now is the time, I can feel we are united!
Agora sim, já ouço a liberdade!	Now is the time, I hear the freedom!
Vamos em frente, é esta a direcção!	Onward, let's go, this is the way!
Agora não, que falta um impresso.	Not now, we don't have a flyer.
Agora não, que o meu pai não quer.	Not now, my dad doesn't want me to.
Agora não, que há engarrafamentos.	Not now, with such traffic jams.
Vão sem mim, que eu vou lá ter.	Go on without me, I'll catch up later.
(Silva Martins)	

We can imagine little Deolinda hearing this repetition of contrasting anaphors "agora sim" and "agora não" while playing outside some Lisbon high school or college. She does not narrate her thoughts of each explanation following these shouts of "now is the time…not now," but rather leaves it to her audience to observe the inherent paralysis of this generation that continues to postpone their revolution for another day. The phrases could represent a back-and-forth between multiple members of this generation, or just Deolinda´s compilation of the daily antithetical statements of her lazy, self-righteous older sibling. The music playing along with the lyrics seems to imply the latter: Rigid, march-like rhythms accompany the shouted proclamations of "agora sim…" which are juxtaposed with the same beat undergirding a rapidly ascending and descending carnivalesque pop hook as Bacalhau sings "agora não." The words "agora não" are sung along a sonic ascension while the explanation of why not is sung as the notes descend, implying that the yes and no/up and down indecision is emanating from the same individual. Whatever the case, Deolinda offers us a concise depiction of the disease

which plagued the *geração à rasca* for so many years until they finally decided that they had had enough: They would skip dinner, work—even the big Benfica game--and finally shout in unison "agora sim!"

The masking and unmasking devices employed by these neoflamenco and neofado musicians are varied. They range from the literal performative mask (i.e. the mustachioed La Shica, Rocío in a burqa, and Rocío as blonde bombshell) to the more figurative literary mask (i.e. Ana Bacalhau as little Deolinda). And yet, these vocalists are not just reveling in the innocuous fun of the masquerade. Just as the pre-Lenten tradition of carnival provides an "occasion for rituals of reversal, satire, parody, and a general suspension of social constraints, [allowing] a unique analytical vantage point from which to dissect social order" (Scott 173), the daily carnival rituals practiced by these indie urban neofolk musicians offer listeners a new perspective of their own past, present, and possible future--as well as that of their respective national imagined community. La Shica parodies Spain's machismo past through the satire of her "Supercopleras." In so doing she proffers her own ritual of reversal. La Shica rewrites the ending of three mid-twentieth-century, male-authored copla/pasodoble lyrical compositions, reversing the destiny of each song's ill-fated heroines. Such a rewriting is by no means a rebellion in verse. It is rather merely a mirror that La Shica holds up for twenty-first-century Spanish society. It is a joyful celebration of how far the Spanish woman has come since the repressive Franco era. And yet it is also a solemn reminder to those who might take these relatively new liberties for granted. The few Spanish women still alive today who (though through the eyes of child) had experienced the liberal

heydays of the short-lived Second Spanish Republic (1931-1939), along with Franco's rapid reversal of all of its egalitarian goals, can attest to the ephemeral quality of such freedoms.[296] Whereas La Shica unmasks the Spanish female in the diachronic, Rocío focuses more on unmasking the global female in the synchronic. Rocío seems driven to chip away at the hidden transcripts which presently structure our worldview: from the fallacies inherent in the European woman's conception of what it means to be liberated to the very language all of us use to communicate to such ideals. Finally, ex-fado punker Ana Bacalhau takes an altogether different masking approach through the personage of the twee Deolinda.

Bacalhau in fact has yet to unmask herself. In public performances, her demeanor is as innocent, gentle, and gracious as one would imagine Deolinda to be, were the little *portuguesa* to spring forth from the album artwork. The Deolinda audience ends up practically hypnotized, occasionally mimicking her onomatopoeias and physical gestures as if they were themselves as young as the band's cartoon protagonist. Perhaps it is therapeutic to revert to this child-like stage, to lose oneself in a zen-like trance, to forget

[296] "In an astonishingly short time, in one of Europe's most backward societies and polities women became the *legal* equals of men. Under the December 1931 Constitution, they could vote and stand for parliament…In addition, a package of progressive social reforms, including one of the most liberal divorce laws in existence (February 1932), significantly enhanced their civil and employment rights. For the first time women could legally act as witnesses and guardians, sign contracts, and administer estates. Nor were employers formally able to dismiss women merely because they had married" (Graham 101). Notwithstanding, Graham carefully contrasts this idyllic era of female equality with the harsh reality of the pervasive patriarchal mentality throughout Spain which knew no political affiliation. "In spite of anarcho-syndicalism's abstract espousal of female equality the daily practice of the vast majority of male *cenetistas* was as patriarchal as their non-libertarian counterparts: the anarchist utopia stopped at the front door. While from 1900 on women's presence inside both wings of the labour movement did increase in relative terms, only in exceptional cases did women achieve leadership positions where they could influence policy or act on their own initiative…'Women's "otherness" was as encoded into the programs of socialist oppositional groups as it was into the policies of the capitalist regimes they opposed" (101-102). Although Spanish women did not achieve the kind of equality the Second Republic in theory championed, the few civil liberties they had enjoyed during the first half of the 1930s would be dashed completely after the nationalists' 1939 triumph.

that the country is practically insolvent and that the government will slash all spending if need be to emerge from this financial quagmire. The Deolinda audience member buys the CD after the show, reads the liner notes and sings along with Bacalhau, then quickly begins to read between the verses, interpreting "that which is said by not saying." In the end, the performance delivery is the mask, and the subsequent fans's lyrical interpretation is the unmasking. Deolinda's lullabye-pop neofado lyrics were chanted in every protest march I attended during 2010-2011. As the increasingly suffocating austerity measures continue to force droves of unemployed or underemployed Portuguese youth to return to their parent's homes, this new Deolinda-style protest song calls them in whispers to recognize their collective forced stasis and unifies them in shouts to finally turn off the tele and take to the streets.

Conclusions

Much invention is needed to safeguard what deserves to last.
-Sylviane Agacinski

Indie neoflamenco and neofado bands link an Iberian past to an Iberian future for a Spanish and Portuguese public caught in an uncertain global and local present. These musicians grope through the ruins and ashes of a collective memory that is both repulsed by, and nostalgic for, an era in which *Spain was different* and Portugal was *proudly alone*.[297] The musicians comprising the Iberian urban neofolk scenes recover what the Spanish and Portuguese indie generations who came before them had discarded outright as symbolic of all that which was passé and retrograde—the orphaned patrimonies of a newly democratic modern European nation-state. Throughout this study I have endeavored to explain the who, what, when, where, and how of indie neoflamenco and neofado from as many angles as possible. I would like to conclude this study with a comprehensive list compiling these musicians´ answers to the most challenging question underlying their projects: *why*? Why exhume the bones of a patrimonial yesteryear that

[297] Both of the slogans I reference here--"España es diferente" (Spain is different) and "orgulhosamente sós" (proudly alone)—date back to the early 1960s, a period of rampant economic prosperity across most of Europe. Such widespread economic acceleration permitted scores of German, French, and Italian tourists to flood the Iberian coastlines while also accenting Spain and Portugal´s socio-political backwardness. "España es diferente" was a slogan championed by the Franco regime to attract Western European tourists, capitalizing on the notion of Spain as Europe´s exotic (and backward) Other. Likewise, the motto "orgulhosamente sós" was employed by the Salazar regime to defend Portugal as the last European nation to proudly carry forward the goals and traditions established by its noble ancestors. In reality, "orgulhosamente sós" was Salazar´s thinly veiled attempt to save face while maintaining Portugal´s ultramarine colonies in the face of increasing global pressure for all developed countries to unilaterally decolonize. Both sayings resulted from the defensive stance of the respective dictators as regressive leaders of antiquated and peripheral European nation-states. They represented the last remnants of an ugly past that Western Europe was anxious to forget about: Fascism, extreme nationalism, the bloodshed of two World Wars, Social Darwinism, eugenics, genocide, holocaust, etc. Both mottos were also used by Spanish and Portuguese citizens as a derogative to acknowledge their own marginalized status within Europe.

most of your national indie brethren would prefer to just let lie? And why combine an overly saturated and poorly remunerated musical genre (indie) with one that, on the national level, is populated by a tightly knit collective of very serious virtuosos and, on the international level, has little to no market share (flamenco or fado). From a business perspective this makes no sense at all. No sane CEO would jockey her company´s position as a small player in a niche market for an insignificant position in an altogether distinct industry which she knows to suffer extremely high national barriers to entry and ridiculously low national and international returns on investment. Sure flamenco and fado represent a unique path through which a Spanish or Portuguese band can differentiate itself within the overpopulated field of international indie music, but to what end? None of the gatekeepers are listening anyway. Who knows if they ever will?

The different answers to the *why* of indie neoflamenco and neofado I gleaned from my own interviews as well as those conducted by other Spanish and Portuguese music critics and journalists interested in these scenes. Indie electronic neofado pioneer, Paulo Pedro Gonçalves, described his answer to the why via a Damascus-Road-like experience he had one sunny day as he heard fado music coursing through Lisbon´s Chiado district: "fuck´s sake, this is the only music that really makes sense in this place." But Gonçalves spent most of his life outside of Portugal and still today resides in London. El Ultimo Grito singer, Julián Demoraga, answers this question with what appears to be an epic, quixotic quest to summon the mystical *duende* spirit which he believes to lie dormant in the modern Spaniard. The *duende* seems to be his own personal Lazarus: It is a dear friend whose passing has grieved him deeply, and it is a spirit which he feels called

to reincarnate. And yet Demoraga, likewise, has spent the majority of his life outside of Spain. Los Planetas describe their motivation to integrate flamenco into the psychedelic-pop/grunge-shoegazer sound (that made them nationally famous) as part of the natural evolution of any musician. Los Planetas keyboardist and guitarist Banin´s description of the process is a sort of hybrid tale which combines the *bildungsroman* with the prodigal son: Kids reject where they come from--they must abandon their origins completely before they can humbly return to truly embrace them. The trajectory of Los Planetas is a divergence from the prior two groups in that all of the band members were born and raised in Andalusia. And yet all Los Planetas members spent most of their lives inhabiting a musical diaspora that had origins outside of Spain: Anglophone indie rock.

Like Gonçalves, Viviane Parra also spent her adolescence outside of Portugal but was surrounded by Portuguese culture. She formed Entre Aspas, and later Viviane, because of the indelible mark left by an early contact with fado (performing with Carlos do Carmo) and Portuguese indie music (listening to Mler Ife Dada). She knew from a young age that this was what she wanted to do. Former-Mler Ife Dada vocalist, Anabela Duarte, composed *Lishbunah* as a project to explore the Arabic roots of fado. La Shica added neoflamenco vocal performance to her already hybrid flamenco and modern dance performance as a way to combine two loves. Dead Combo stumbled on to a unique sound by listening to Carlos Paredes´s albums at a fraction of their normal RPMs. Dead Combo guitarist Tó Trips realized that he loved the Portuguese guitar work of "the man with a thousand fingers" when experienced through the sonic equivalent of a negative film image: Instead of listening to a blitz of notes and movements, Trips heard Paredes

as a minimalist composer. This sound, he decided, was his calling. Pony Bravo sought to experiment with the flamenco sounds of Sevilla while sonically exploring how its fundamental elements and sentiments corresponded to those of the global "souths." OqueStrada founders Jean Marc Pablo and Marta Miranda wanted originally to form an urban musical street theater. The band eventually evolved into a moving orchestra inspired by the hybrid sounds they heard clashing throughout the suburban streets of Almada—fado, rock, video games, classical, car horns, klezmer, sirens, morna, the whistle of the knife sharpener, etc. Mil i Maria´s Rocío wanted to put to music the many worlds she encountered in her national and international travels. A Naifa originally just wanted to create a simple four-piece pop lineup with a Portuguese guitar replacing the electric. They didn´t decide on a sound until they discovered the amateur fadista Mitó. Canteca de Macao came about their sound as the result of a sort of participatory democracy in which all members brought various musical influences that were respected and integrated into a cohesive sound. The most critically acclaimed of all of these groups, Deolinda, seemed to just happen on this style when the fadista punk Ana Bacalhua was invited to sing a few song lyrics composed by the brothers Pedro da Silva Martins and Luís José Martins. I end this series on the *whys* of this music with a quote from the first indie neofado band mentioned in this study, Novembro. Novembro founder Miguel Filipe describes how he finally came to answer the question for himself:

> In 2001…I realized that something must change because I was in the middle of a crowd of bands making the same music...So I started to feel uncomfortable with that and…I was crossing a complicated stage of my life. I just went through a solitude process that makes you dig things out of your head, and the music followed. At the same time the Portuguese spirit started to grow because I was diverging from the road of the Anglo-Saxon style. And in 2001, I returned to

singing in Portuguese. I bought my first Portuguese guitar in 2001 and started to use it.

These responses provide us a rough approximation as to the why of Iberian indie urban neofolk: from Damascus to Lisbon, from the resurrection of Lazarus *duende* to the simple raising of a Portuguese guitar to one´s chest. It is mystical divine intervention. It is just a casual introspection, an aspiration to be different, and a desire to do something.

I hope that my project will prove useful to future researchers of Iberian indie, folk, or neoflamenco and/or neofado music and culture. There are a variety of topics which fell outside of the scope of this project that could be taken up in other studies:

1. A mirror image of this study would look at this same kind of hybridity in reverse. This would consist of a focus on flamenco and fado musicians who are currently reworking these folk music traditions by integrating any kind of indie or electronic music into their compositions. Some of the issues explored in the previous chapters would still be pertinent (i.e. authenticity, habitus, nostalgia, etc.). Distinct concerns may stem from similar fields of study such as ethnomusicology or behavioral economics. For instance, one could investigate a hybrid flamenco musician's conflicts with his purist peers or the opportunity costs involved in pursuing fado hybridity. A fadista who embraces indie trades the traditional scene (comprised of a small, but devoted and international fan base) for one that is practically nonexistent even within Portugal. The international indie fan base that the fadista could potentially interest is likewise not economically attractive as it is largely characterized by apathy, caprice, and piracy.

2. An analogous study could engage flamenco and fado musicians that integrate other folk music traditions into a hybrid World Music sound, with a focus on the recent trajectory of Novo Fado and Nuevo Flamenco. This study (as well as the prior) would be building on recent scholarship within the field, such as Manuel Halpern´s 2004 analysis of the most recent generation of upcoming fado stars (*O futuro da saudade*), Richard Elliot´s *Fado and the Place of Longing* (2010), or Gerhard Steingress´s many publications on Nuevo Flamenco hybridity. New research could focus on Novo Fado, Nuevo Flamenco, and the hybrid fado and flamenco musicians who have emerged since these publications, or those musicians who were not covered originally by the aforementioned authors (i.e. Concha Buika, África Gallego, Carminho, Raquel Tavares).
3. Another interesting research project would be akin to what I originally set out to investigate, contemporary Iberian indie. Although the object of study would be much broader as it encompassed all indie subgenres, the topic could be narrowed via a concentration on specific Iberian regions. An ideal comparison would focus on indie music scenes within the separatist autonomous communities in Spain (Catalunya, Euskadi, and Galicia) and those found in Portugal´s two most populous districts (Lisbon and Porto). A wide range of topics could be explored through the music, lyrics, performance, habitus, politics, etc. of a select collection of Iberian indie bands from these areas. In particular, one could consider separatist anxieties in the aforementioned Spanish nations vs. national identity (or lack thereof) in Portugal´s urban centers; indie music and the Spanish *indignados*

and/or Portuguese *geração à rasca* movements; the political and economic signification of singing in English, Portuguese, Spanish, Gallego, Euskera, or Catalan; authenticity and DIY; Iberian indie subcultures, the Iberian indie music industry; the performance of gender and sexuality; the successes and failures of these bands touring outside of their home country; etc.[298]

4. One could also research the same scenes but focus on entirely different topics. There seemed to be an infinite array of issues that arose in interviews and research over the course of my field work and writing. I transcribed all of my interviews and plan to submit portions of my transcriptions to interested academic journals for publication. I also will share those interviews that are not destined for publication by posting them on my academia.edu page (http://umn.academia.edu/MichaelArnold). A researcher could build on these interview notes by conducting further interviews with the same musicians; with bands that I did not get a chance to interview (i.e. indie neofado's answer to

[298] I did investigate tour logistics quite a bit for this project but never found an appropriate place to fit my findings. One curious aspect I noticed regarding the Spanish or Portuguese indie band touring Europe is their tendency to travel by air instead of car or bus. As a (former) touring U.S. indie musician, it struck me as quite unnatural for an indie band to fly to play an indie show. In the United States, even the most commercially successful indie bands tour across the country in a bus and rarely, if ever, by plane. I did some math to try to figure out why this was the case, comparing the U.S. and Iberia with respect to average gasoline prices on any given day, fuel economy for vehicles with similar carrying capacity, tolls, etc. The trip I compared was Minneapolis to Chicago (a distance of 410 miles) vs. Lisbon to Madrid (a distance of 389 miles). I compared the average gas price in Portugal and Spain with that in the U.S. on the day of the Portuguese presidential elections (January 23, 2011): The average price for a gallon of Iberian gas that day was 5.74 Euros/gallon, or $7.81/gallon. The average U.S. gas price was under half that at $3.09/gallon. A comparison of toll costs plus the lowest likely fuel economies (a European diesel van getting 15 miles/gallon vs. a U.S. V8-engine van averaging 12 miles/gallon) for the same distance (410 miles) yielded a round-trip difference of around $215. The very low state and federal taxes on gasoline motor fuel across the United States functions essentially like a band tour subsidy, when driven. The opposite is the case for Iberian bands that can fly across multiple countries with Ryan Air for under $100 round trip. Around the same time I calculated this, I was looking for a flight from Lisbon to Seville to interview a band, and I saw a round-trip flight through Ryan Air for $6. This clarified for me why Iberian indie bands fly, but I still find it a little bizarre.

Vashti Bunyan--Lula Pena, or the indie electronic neoflamenco group Chambao); with groups that formed after my field work was concluded. A few topics that could build on my study would be the influence of recent immigration on the neofado and neoflamenco musics and cultures; the creative process; representations and rearticulations of national-queer identity; the effects of several years of austerity on these young scenes.

5. Finally (and perhaps a project I myself would like to pursue in the future), further scholarship on the indie neofado and neoflamenco scenes highlighted in the prior chapters could be comprised of an in-depth, comparative focus on just one of the themes that I have touched on herein. Based on my research for this project, I believe the topic with the most potential for a fascinating study would be a comparison of the restorative and reflective nostalgia as employed by the Estado Novo; the Franco regime; and those nostalgias involved in the formation, the evolution, and the present-day representative practice of indie neofado and neoflamenco scenes. I would also be interested in an in-depth study of the semiotics and political projects underlying neofado and neoflamenco representations and rearticulations of national-gender identity.

A Final Note

"While nostalgia mourns distances and disjunctures between times and spaces, never bridging them, technology offers solutions and builds bridges, saving the time that the nostalgic loves to waste" (Boym 346). Every night as I sketched out the final pages of

this study, I found so many ideas swirling around in my mind that I needed some final distraction in order to get a bit of sleep. I myself was nostalgic for a time in which I didn´t have to constantly stare at a computerized version of a blank sheet of paper. I took to watching an hour every night of *Deadwood* to disconnect a bit from the modern world. *Deadwood* is an HBO, American-Western Television series (lasting from 2004 to 2006 before being cancelled) which drew from actual letters, resident diaries, and news articles from the era to elaborate a fictional history which details the growing pains of Deadwood, South Dakota as it transitioned from camp to town during the 1870s. I couldn't help but notice the many parallels between what I was watching and what I was observing in my interview notes with several of the musicians involved in this study.

The citizens of Deadwood represented a sort of last bastion of the old days of the American Wild West. The majority of Deadwood´s inhabitants were immigrant-pioneers that had settled illegally within an area (the Black Hills) that had already been granted to the Lakota people under the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. As such they were free to obtain their livelihood likewise, outside of federal law: They were unregulated gold miners, unlicensed saloon and shop owners, gun-slinging bandits, vagabond confidence men, brothel owners, and prostitutes. But as it became clearer that the town would be annexed into Lawrence County (and, thus, a recognized municipality of the United States of America), the citizens of Deadwood glimpsed that their old ways were soon coming to an end. Progress was all around them. They could see their city improving every day as fallow fields were replaced by houses and shops, outlaws by sheriffs, trees by utility poles, and skylines by telegraph wires. The HBO series portrays this development as an

exciting moment in the town's history, while simultaneously building suspense through a focus on the chaotic atmosphere resulting from the clash of the feral instincts of the independent pioneer with the rigid demands of an increasingly pervasive social contract. The series depicts Deadwood settlers as fearful of what federal incorporation could mean. They fear losing the unregulated way of life which had brought them to Deadwood in the first place. This vague fear is exacerbated when the original mining claims of many Deadwood citizens are brought into question by Lawrence County government officials.

Season Two of the HBO series begins with Deadwood Gem saloon owner Al Swearengen discussing the meaning of progress with his henchman Dan Dority as they slam whiskey and scrutinize a group of workers erecting telegraph poles just a few yards away:

> **Al Swearengen (AS):** Messages from invisible sources, or what some people call ´progress.´
>
> **Dan Dority (DD):** Well ain't the heathens use smoke signals all through recorded history?
>
> **AS:** How's that a fuckin' recommendation?
>
> **DD:** Well it seems like to me [that] letters posted one person to another is just a slower version of the same idea.
>
> **AS:** When's the last time you got a fuckin' letter from a stranger?
>
> **DD:** (saddened) Bad news about pa.
>
> **AS:** Bad news. Tries against our interests is our sole communication from strangers. So by all means let's plant poles all across the country! Festoon the cocksuckers with wires to hurry the sorry word, and blink for our judgments and motives.
>
> **DD:** You've given it more thought than me.
>
> **AS:** Ain't the state of things cloudy enough? Don't we face enough fuckin' imponderables?

DD: Well by God, you give the word Al, and those poles will be kindlin' (Milch).

The sentiment of this dialogue is just as relevant today in the context of twenty-first-century young, urban Iberia. Progress for both seems only to portend change and loss: A loss of control, a loss of power, sometimes a loss of ownership. Yet progress for others in Deadwood, Madrid, and Lisbon signifies the potential to consolidate power and control. Those poised to benefit the most from European Union progress are currently languishing in uncertainty as the whole project appears to be plagued by indecision and disagreement as to how to go forward.[299] For indie tradition, progress almost always means loss since one of its fundamental upsides—the concentration of power--is antithetical to indie´s core ethos. Worse still, progress saves the time that the nostalgic indie musician loves to waste. Sure, progress brought indie the distortion pedal, the iPod, social networks, the Smartphone, etc., but it also brought indie into the light of modern media, into the mainstream--where it must sink. It cannot swim in the mainstream, for if it does, how could it still be indie? Perhaps this is partly a reason for indie music being so rife with nostalgia. Svetlana Boym connects nostalgia as a defense mechanism against progress, against accelerated rhythms of life and historical upheavals: "Somehow progress didn´t cure nostalgia but exacerbated it. Similarly, globalization encouraged stronger local attachments. In counterpoint to our fascination with cyberspace and the virtual global village there is a no less global epidemic of nostalgia, an affective yearning

[299] I refer here generally to vested multinational corporate and governmental interests that, provided current Eurozone-wide economic and supranational political shortcomings be resolved, could enjoy stable fiscal returns on investment and maintain political party dominance, respectively. In a broader (and more historical) sense, though, the viability of the European Union project is of global interest given that the very concept of a European-wide integration of economic, socio-political, and military interests was founded on the principle of maintaining peace in a continent that had been plagued for centuries with internecine warfare which, during the twentieth century, twice required substantial international intervention.

for a community with a collective memory, a longing for continuity in a fragmented world" (xiv). The specific kind of progress that these two Deadwood citizens lament is one that resonates doubly for indie neoflamenco and neofado musicians today: the negative social effects related to advances in telecommunications. Dority reasons that impersonal communication is not a new phenomenon. For Swearengen it is not the ability to communicate in this way that troubles him, but the speed and tenacity of such communication. For the saloon owner it can only signify a further loss of control as he already struggles to keep up with the challenges to his power that he can personally bribe, punch, or kill. I touch on the issue of how the rapid spread of communication provided by the internet affects indie musicians in general, and indie neoflamenco and neofado musicians in particular, throughout this study. As communication speeds up, so do the threats from external forces which undermine indie tradition. The direct negative effects of such rapid connectivity on indie music traditions are various and widespread: subcultural capital inflation, "band collapse syndrome" (Fitzpatrick 1), the evasiveness of indie authenticity in the internet era, the "pitchforkization" of the musical palette, cultural conspicuous consumption, and subcultural stillbirth.

The imponderables pop up daily in *El País* and the *Diário de Notícias*, the key imponderable being: how are we ever going to get out of this mess? Just this morning (February 1st, 2013) the Portuguese newspaper´s top online story cited a study by *The Economist* which predicted a further rise in national unemployment to 17% by 2014. It is currently at 16.1%, the highest it has ever been in the last thirty years (Guerra). The next story announced a spike in national gasoline prices in the near future (Dinheiro Vivo).

The headline under that announced Portugal´s success in cutting twice the spending on national health care in 2012 that had been agreed upon under the May, 2011 EU/IMF bailout package (Maia). *El País* was likewise filled with impending gloom and doom: rising unemployment, rising inflation, falling social safety net, etc.

The young adults inhabiting Madrid and Lisbon are caught in a situation similar to the citizens of Deadwood who celebrate a progress they also fear. Their apprehensions are founded on the same issues: a potential economic and cultural loss. Their cities are being slowly absorbed by larger interests. Spain and Portugal´s integration into the European Union brought prosperity along with a loss of national, regional, and local autonomy. As the initial economic benefits of EU membership gave way to austerity measures following the global financial crisis of 2008, this lack of autonomy became gradually more pronounced. The economic loss seems to have hit the Iberian youth the hardest. Unemployment for Portuguese job-seekers under the age of 25 was 38.7% by November 2012. For the same age group of Spaniards it was 56.5% (Allen 4). Iberian kids were forced to move back in droves to their parent´s homes, but austerity measures (reducing wages, pensions, social benefits, and increasing taxes) have cut into the little savings that many of their parents have left. EU and IMF austerity measures not only challenged the metaphorical "mining claims" of these Iberian youth, but also robbed them of their independence, sending them from the Deadwoods of Madrid and Lisbon (i.e. Lavapies or Mouraria) to their childhood bedroom. Meanwhile, another force was slowly chipping away at a local way of Spanish and Portuguese life. Anglophone culture had slowly seeped into the Iberian everyday throughout much of the latter half of the

twentieth century. By the beginning of the next century, the signs of especially U.S. cultural imperialism were omnipresent in Madrid and Lisbon: The Spanish *bocadillo de jamón* was increasingly being replaced by the McDonald´s Big Mac, the Portuguese *galão* by the Starbucks grande cappuccino, the Spanish television series *Cuentame cómo pasó* by The Sopranos or Mad Men, the Portuguese indie electro-post punk X-Wife´s *Feeding the Machine* (2004) by The Rapture´s *Echoes* (2003).

Just as was the case in Deadwood, South Dakota, circa 1876, the average young Iberian´s claims to future financial and cultural independence are being called into question by faceless forces outside of their control. So they organize, they protest, they make symbolic gestures signifying an impending, possibly violent, reaction against such overarching forces by surrounding the Congresso de los Diputados building in Madrid on September 25th, 2012. A similar scene plays out in Season Two, Episode Five, of *Deadwood* when a rowdy bunch of drunken gold miners (referred to as hoopleheads) surround the Lawrence County Commissioner, Hugo Jarry. Steve Fields, an unruly and incessantly drunk hooplehead threatens violence against Hugo Jarry in retaliation for the Commissioner´s pronouncement that all prior mining claims were subject to review. Jarry responds to their threats by invoking the higher power which he represents and, by extension, the futility of their revolt:

> **Hugo Jarry:** Had you vision as well as sight, you would recognize within me not only a man but an institution and the future as well.
>
> **Steve Fields:** Fuck you! Fuck the institution! And fuck the future!
>
> **Hugo Jarry:** You cannot fuck the future sir; the future fucks you (Morrow).

The future is currently fucking young Iberia. It is no wonder that they now look inward, backward, and sideways to find a solution to what they dread looking forward. The hybrid indie neofado and neoflamenco bands I have presented throughout this study are a metonym for an ever-expanding cross-section of Iberian youth: They are eager to belong to a European and global community yet are increasingly uneasy with the disintegration of local knowledge, national sovereignty, as well as their own independence as a result of Anglophone cultural hegemony and EU/IMF-imposed economic austerity measures. These bands represent the look inwards, backwards, and sideways of their national fans. The introspective look inwards is an impulse toward self-identification. The reflective-nostalgia look backwards explores the cultural identities comprising their national patrimony. The curious look sideways searches a way out. The one way out I have focused on throughout this book is via a nostalgic hybridity as unique expression of who one is and where one comes from: It warbles "no future" to the sad trill of an electric Portuguese guitar. It howls "perseguiré, perseguiré…la estela de tu perfume" to a *bulerías* produced by synthesizers and samplers. Their music is one that pines in portents and revels in redemption. It is a music that transforms Iberian urban folk music traditions in order to preserve them for the generations yet to come. Indie neoflamenco and neofado are not the only way out. They may not be the best way out. They may do nothing more than mollify the pain of loss as neoliberal economic agendas and cultural homogeneity become pandemic. But when these bands go…if they go…at least it will be their way: with *ayeo* on their tongues, *saudade* in their hearts, *duende* in their veins, and feedback in their ears.

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